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THE

HISTORY

OF THE

DECLINE AND FALL

OF THE

ROMAN EMPIRE.

VOL. XII.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

DECLINE AND FALL

OF THE

ROMAN EMPIRE.

By EDWARD GIBBON, Eſq;

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CHAP. LXV.

Elevation of Timour, or Tamerlane, to the Throne of Samarcand.—His Conqueſts in Perſia, Georgia, Tartary, Ruſſia, India, Syria, and Anatolia.—His Turkiſh War.—Defeat and Captivity of Bajazet.—Death of Timour.—Civil War of the Sons of Bajazet.—Reſtoration of the Turkiſh Monarchy by Mahomet the Firſt.—Siege of Conſtantinople by Amurath the Second.

Hiſtories of TIMOUR, or *Tamerlane*.

THE conqueſt and monarchy of the world was the firſt object of the ambition of TIMOUR. To live in the memory and eſteem of future ages was the ſecond wiſh of his magnanimous ſpirit. All the civil and military tranſactions of his reign were diligently recorded in the journals of his ſecretaries[1]: the authentic narrative was reviſed by the perſons beſt informed of each particular tranſaction; and it is believed in the empire and family of Timour, that the monarch himſelf compoſed the *commentaries*[2] of his life, and the *inſtitutions*[3] of his government[4]. But theſe cares were ineffectual for the preſervation of his fame, and theſe precious memorials in the Mogul or Perſian language were concealed from the world, or at leaſt from the knowledge of Europe.

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[1] Theſe journals were communicated to Sherefeddin, or Cherefeddin Ali, a native of Yezd, who compoſed in the Perſian language a hiſtory of Timour Beg, which has been tranſlated into French by M. Petis de la Croix (Paris, 1722, in 4 vols. 12^{mo}), and has always been my faithful guide. His geography and chronology are wonderfully accurate; and he may be truſted for public facts, though he ſervilely praiſes the virtue and fortune of the hero. Timour's attention to procure intelligence from his own and foreign countries, may be ſeen in the Inſtitutions, p. 215, 217. 349. 351.

[2] Theſe Commentaries are yet unknown in Europe: but Mr. White gives ſome hope that they may be imported and tranſlated by his friend Major Davy, who had read in the Eaſt this "minute and faithful narrative of an intereſting and eventful "period."

[3] I am ignorant whether the original inſtitution, in the Turkiſh or Mogul language, be ſtill extant. The Perſic verſion, with an Engliſh tranſlation and moſt valuable index, was publiſhed (Oxford, 1783, in 4to) by the joint labours of Major Davy, and Mr. White the Arabic profeſſor. This work has been ſince tranſlated from the Perſic into French (Paris, 1787) by M. Langles, a learned Orientaliſt, who has added the life of Timour, and many curious notes.

[4] Shaw Allum, the preſent Mogul, reads, values, but cannot imitate, the inſtitutions of his great anceſtor. The Engliſh tranſlator relies on their internal evidence: but if any ſuſpicions ſhould ariſe of fraud and fiction, they will not be diſpelled by Major Davy's letter. The Orientals have never cultivated the art of criticiſm; the patronage of a prince, leſs honourable perhaps, is not leſs lucrative than that of a bookſeller; nor can it be deemed incredible, that a Perſian, the real author, ſhould renounce the credit, to raiſe the value and price of the work.

rope. The nations which he vanquiſhed exerciſed a baſe and impotent revenge; and ignorance has long repeated the tale of calumny[5], which had disfigured the birth and character, the perſon, and even the name, of *Tamerlane*[6]. Yet his real merit would be enhanced, rather than debaſed, by the elevation of a peaſant to the throne of Aſia; nor can his lameneſs be a theme of reproach, unleſs he had the weakneſs to bluſh at a natural, or perhaps an honourable, infirmity.

In the eyes of the Moguls, who held the indefeaſible ſucceſſion of the houſe of Zingis, he was doubtleſs a rebel ſubject; yet he ſprang from the noble tribe of Berlaſs: his fifth anceſtor, Caraſhar Nevian, had been the vizir of Zagatai, in his new realm of Tranſoxiana; and in the aſcent of ſome generations, the branch of Timour is confounded, at leaſt by the females[7], with the Imperial ſtem [8]. He was born forty miles to the ſouth of Samarcand, in the village of Sebzar, in the fruitful territory of Caſh, of which his fathers were the hereditary chiefs, as well as of a toman of ten thouſand horſe [9]. His birth [10] was caſt on one of thoſe periods of anarchy which announce the fall of the Aſiatic dynaſties, and open a new field to adventurous ambition. The khans of Zagatai were extinct; the emirs aſpired to independence; and their domeſtic feuds could only be ſuſpended by the conqueſt and tyranny of the khans of Kaſhgar, who, with an army of Getes or Calmucks [11], invaded the Transoxian kingdom. From the twelfth year of his age, Timour had entered the field of action; in the twenty-fifth, he ſtood forth as the deliverer of his country; and the eyes and

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[5] The original of the tale is found in the following work, which is much eſteemed for its florid elegance of ſtyle: *Ahmedis Arabſiadæ* (Ahmed Ebn Arabſhah) *Vitæ et Rerum geſtarum Timuri. Arabice et Latine. Edidit Samuel Henricus Manger. Franequeræ*, 1767, 2 *tom. in* 4^to^. This Syrian author is ever a malicious, and often an ignorant, enemy: the very titles of his chapters are injurious; as how the wicked, as how the impious, as how the viper, &c. The copious article of TIMUR, in Bibliothéque Orientale, is of a mixed nature, as d'Herbelot indifferently draws his materials (p. 877—888.) from Khondemir, Ebn Schounah, and the Lebtarikh.

[6] *Demir*, or *Timour*, ſignifies, in the Turkiſh language, Iron; and *Beg* is the appellation of a lord or prince. By the change of a letter or accent, it is changed into *Lenc*, or lame; and a European corruption confounds the two words in the name of Tamerlane.

[7] After relating ſome falſe and fooliſh tales of Timour *Lenc*, Arabſhah is compelled to ſpeak truth, and to own him for a kinſman of Zingis, per mulieres (as he peeviſhly adds) laqueos Satanæ (pars i. c. 1. p. 25.). The teſtimony of Abulghazi Khan (P. ii. c. 5. P. v. c. 4.) is clear, unqueſtionable, and deciſive.

His firſt adventures. A.D. 1361—1370.

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[8] According to one of the pedigrees, the fourth anceſtor of Zingis, and the ninth of Timour, were brothers; and they agreed, that the poſterity of the elder ſhould ſucceed to the dignity of khan, and that the deſcendants of the younger ſhould fill the office of their miniſter and general. This tradition was at leaſt convenient to juſtify the firſt ſteps of Timour's ambition (Inſtitutions, p. 24, 25. from the MS. fragments of Timour's hiſtory).

[9] See the preface of Sherefeddin, and Abulfeda's Geography (Choraſmiæ, &c. Deſcriptio, p. 60, 61.), in the iiid volume of Hudſon's Minor Greek Geographers.

[10] See his nativity in Dr. Hyde (Syntagma Diſſertat. tom. ii. p. 466.), as it was caſt by the aſtrologers of his grandſon Ulugh Beg. He was born A.D. 1336, April 9, 11° 57' P. M. lat. 36. I know not whether they can prove the great conjunction of the planets from whence, like other conquerors and prophets, Timour derived the ſurname of Saheb Keran, or maſter of the conjunctions (Bibliot. Orient. p. 878.).

[11] [illegible]

wiſhes of the people were turned towards an hero who ſuffered in their cauſe. The chiefs of the law and of the army had pledged their ſalvation to ſupport him with their lives and fortunes; but in the hour of danger they were ſilent and afraid; and, after waiting ſeven days on the hills of Samarcand, he retreated to the deſert with only ſixty horſemen. The fugitives were overtaken by a thouſand Getes, whom he repulſed with incredible ſlaughter, and his enemies were forced to exclaim, "Timour is a wonderful man: fortune and the "divine favour are with him." But in this bloody action his own followers were reduced to ten, a number which was ſoon diminiſhed by the deſertion of three Carizmians. He wandered in the deſert with his wife, ſeven companions, and four horſes; and ſixty-two days was he plunged in a loathſome dungeon, from whence he eſcaped by his own courage, and the remorſe of the oppreſſor. After ſwimming the broad and rapid ſtream of the Jihoon, or Oxus, he led, during ſome months, the life of a vagrant and outlaw, on the borders of the adjacent ſtates. But his fame ſhone brighter in adverſity; he learned to diſtinguiſh the friends of his perſon, the aſſociates of his fortune, and to apply the various characters of men for their advantage, and above all for his own. On his return to his native country, Timour was ſucceſſively joined by the parties of his confederates, who anxiouſly ſought him in the deſert; nor can I refuſe to deſcribe, in his pathetic ſimplicity, one of their fortunate encounters. He preſented himſelf as a guide to three chiefs, who were at the head of ſeventy horſe. "When their eyes fell "upon me," ſays Timour, "they were overwhelmed with joy; and they alighted from "their horſes; and they came and kneeled; and "they kiſſed my ſtirrup. I alſo came down from "my horſe, and took each of them in my arms. "And I put my turban on the head of the firſt "chief; and my girdle, rich in jewels and "wrought with gold, I bound on the loins of "the ſecond; and the third, I clothed in my "own coat. And they wept, and I wept alſo; and "the hour of prayer was arrived, and we prayed. "And we mounted our horſes, and came to my "dwelling; and I collected my people, and made "a feaſt." His truſty bands were ſoon encreaſed by the braveſt of the tribes; he led them againſt a ſuperior foe, and after ſome viciſſitudes of war, the Getes were finally driven from the kingdom of Tranſoxiana. He had done much for his own glory; but much remained to be done, much art to be exerted, and ſome blood to be ſpilt, before he could teach his equals to obey him as their maſter. The birth and power of emir Houſſein compelled him to accept a vicious and unworthy colleague, whoſe ſiſter was the beſt beloved of his wives. Their union was ſhort and jealous; but the policy of Timour, in their frequent quarrels, expoſed his rival to the reproach of injuſtice and perfidy; and, after a ſmall defeat, Houſſein was ſlain by ſome ſagacious friends, who preſumed for the laſt time, to diſobey the commands of their lord. At the age of thirty-four[12], and in a general

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[12] The firſt book of Sherefeddin is employed on the private life of the hero; and he himſelf, or his ſecretary (Inſtitutions, p. 3—77.), [illegible]

He aſcends the throne of Zagatai, A. D. 1370, April.

general diet or *couroultai*, he was inveſted with *Imperial* command, but he affected to revere the houſe of Zingis; and while the emir Timour reigned over Zagatai and the Eaſt, a nominal khan ſerved as a private officer in the armies of his ſervant. A fertile kingdom, five hundred miles in length and in breadth, might have ſatiſfied the ambition of a ſubject; but Timour aſpired to the dominion of the world; and before his death, the crown of Zagatai was one of the twenty-ſeven crowns which he had placed on his head. Without expatiating on the victories of thirty-five campaigns; without deſcribing the lines of march, which he repeatedly traced over the continent of Aſia; I ſhall briefly repreſent his conqueſts in, I. Perſia, II. Tartary, and, III. India[13], and from thence proceed to the more intereſting narrative of his Ottoman war.

His conqueſts, A. D. 1370—1400. I. Of Perſia, A. D. 1380—1393.

I. For every war, a motive of ſafety or revenge, of honour or zeal, of right or convenience, may be readily found in the juriſprudence of conquerors. No ſooner had Timour re-united to the patrimony of Zagatai the dependent countries of Carizme and Candahar, than he turned his eyes towards the kingdoms of Iran or Perſia. From the Oxus to the Tigris, that extenſive country was left without a lawful ſovereign ſince the death of Abouſaid, the laſt of the deſcendants of the great

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enlarges with pleaſure on the thirteen deſigns and enterpriſes which moſt truly conſtitute his *perſonal* merit. It even ſhines through the dark colouring of Arabſhah, P. i. c. 1—12.

[13] The conqueſts of Perſia, Tartary, and India, are repreſented in the iid and iiid books of Sherefeddin, and by Arabſhah, c. 13—55. Conſult the excellent Indexes to the Inſtitutions,

Holacou. Peace and juſtice had been baniſhed from the land above forty years; and the Mogul invader might ſeem to liſten to the cries of an oppreſſed people. Their petty tyrants might have oppoſed him with confederate arms: they ſeparately ſtood, and ſucceſſively fell; and the difference of their fate was only marked by the promptitude of ſubmiſſion or the obſtinacy of reſiſtance. Ibrahim, prince of Shirwan or Albania, kiſſed the footſtool of the Imperial throne. His peace-offerings of ſilks, horſes and jewels, were compoſed, according to the Tartar faſhion, each article of nine pieces; but a critical ſpectator obſerved, that there were only eight ſlaves. "I "myſelf am the ninth," replied Ibrahim, who was prepared for the remark; and his flattery was rewarded by the ſmile of Timour[14]. Shah Manſour, prince of Fars, or the proper Perſia, was one of the leaſt powerful, but moſt dangerous, of his enemies. In a battle under the walls of Shiraz, he broke, with three or four thouſand ſoldiers, the *coul* or main body of thirty thouſand horſe, where the emperor fought in perſon. No more than fourteen or fifteen guards remained near the ſtandard of Timour: he ſtood firm as a rock, and received on his helmet two weighty ſtrokes of a ſcymetar[15]: the Moguls rallied; the head of Manſour was thrown at his feet, and he declared his eſteem of the valour of a foe, by extirpating all the males of ſo intrepid a race. From Shiraz, his troops advanced to the Perſian gulf; and the richneſs and weakneſs of Ormuz[16] were diſplayed in an annual tribute of ſix hundred thouſand dinars of gold. Bagdad was no longer the city of peace, the ſeat of the caliphs; but the nobleſt conqueſt of Houlacou could not be overlooked by his ambitious ſucceſſor. The whole courſe of the Tigris and Euphrates, from the mouth to the ſources of thoſe rivers, was reduced to his obedience: he entered Edeſſa; and the Turkmans of the black ſheep were chaſtiſed for the ſacrilegious pillage of a caravan of Mecca. In the mountains of Georgia, the native Chriſtians ſtill braved the law and the ſword of Mahomet; by three expeditions he obtained the merit of the *gazie*, or holy war; and the prince of Teflis became his proſelyte and friend.

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[14] The reverence of the Tartars for the myſterious number of nine is declared by Abulghazi Khan, who, for that reaſon, divides his Genealogical Hiſtory into nine parts.

[15] According to Arabſhah (P. i. c. 28, p. 183.), the coward Timour ran away to his tent, and hid himſelf from the purſuit of Shah Manſour under the women's garments. Perhaps Sherefeddin (l. iii. c. 25.) has magnified his courage.

II. Of Turkeſtan, A. D. 1370—1383.

II. A juſt retaliation might be urged for the invaſion of Turkeſtan, or the eaſtern Tartary. The dignity of Timour could not endure the impunity of the Getes: he paſſed the Sihoon, ſubdued the kingdom of Caſhgar, and marched ſeven times into the heart of their country. His moſt diſtant camp was two months journey, or four hundred and eighty leagues to the north-eaſt of Samarcand; and his emirs, who traverſed the river Irtiſh, engraved in the foreſts of Siberia a rude memorial of their exploits. The conqueſt of Kipzak, or the weſtern Tartary[17], was founded on the double motive of aiding the diſtreſſed, and chaſtiſing the ungrateful. Toctamiſh, a fugitive prince, was entertained and protected in his court: the ambaſſadors of Auruſs Khan were diſmiſſed with an haughty denial, and followed on the ſame day by the armies of Zagatai; and their ſucceſs eſtabliſhed Toctamiſh in the Mogul empire of the north. But after a reign of ten years, the new khan forgot the merits and the ſtrength of his benefactor; the baſe uſurper, as he deemed him, of the ſacred rights of the houſe of Zingis. Through the gates of Derbend, he entered Perſia at the head of ninety thouſand horſe: with the innumerable forces of Kipzak, Bulgaria, Circaſſia, and Ruſſia, he paſſed the Sihoon, burnt the palaces of Timour, and compelled him, amidſt the winter ſnows, to contend for Samarcand and his life. After a mild expoſtulation and a glorious victory, the emperor reſolved on revenge: and by the eaſt, and the weſt, of the Caſpian, and the Volga, he twice invaded Kipzak

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[16] The hiſtory of Ormuz is not unlike that of Tyre. The old city, on the continent, was deſtroyed by the Tartars, and renewed in a neighbouring iſland without freſh water or vegetation. The kings of Ormuz, rich in the Indian trade and the pearl fiſhery, poſſeſſed large territories both in Perſia and Arabia; but they were at firſt the tributaries of the ſultans of Kerman, and at laſt were delivered (A. D. 1505) by the Portugueſe tyrants from the tyranny of their own vizirs (Marco Polo, l. i. c. 15, 16. fol. 7, 8. Abulfeda Geograph. tabul. xi. p. 261, 262. an original Chronicle of Ormuz, in Texeira, or Stevens' Hiſtory of Perſia, p. 376—416. and the Itineraries inſerted in the 1ſt volume of Ramuſio, of Ludovico Barthema (1503), fol. 167. of Andrea Corſali (1517), fol. 202, 203, and of Odoardo Barbeſſa (in 1516), fol. 315—318.).

of Kipzak, Ruſſia, &c.
A.D. 1390—1396.

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[17] Arabſhah had travelled into Kipzak, and acquired a ſingular knowledge of the geography, cities, and revolutions, of that northern region (P. i. c. 45—49).

with ſuch mighty powers, that thirteen miles were meaſured from his right to his left wing. In a march of five months, they rarely beheld the footſteps of man; and their daily ſubſiſtence was often truſted to the fortune of the chace. At length the armies encountered each other; but the treachery of the ſtandard-bearer, who, in the heat of action, reverſed the Imperial ſtandard of Kipzak, determined the victory of the Zagatais; and Toctamiſh (I ſpeak the language of the Inſtitutions) gave the tribe of Touſhi to the wind of deſolation[18]. He fled to the Chriſtian duke of Lithuania; again returned to the banks of the Volga; and, after fifteen battles with a domeſtic rival, at laſt periſhed in the wilds of Siberia. The purſuit of a flying enemy carried Timour into the tributary provinces of Ruſſia: a duke of the reigning family was made priſoner amidſt the ruins of his capital; and Yeletz, by the pride and ignorance of the Orientals, might eaſily be confounded with the genuine metropolis of the nation. Moſcow trembled at the approach of the Tartar, and the reſiſtance would have been feeble, ſince the hopes of the Ruſſians were placed in a miraculous image of the Virgin, to whoſe protection they aſcribed the caſual and voluntary retreat of the conqueror. Ambition and prudence recalled him to the ſouth, the deſolate country was exhauſted, and the Mogul ſoldiers were enriched with an immenſe ſpoil of precious furs, of linen of Antioch[19], and of ingots of gold and ſilver. On the banks of the Don, or Tanais, he received an humble deputation from the conſuls and merchants of Egypt[21], Venice, Genoa, Catalonia, and Biſcay, who occupied the commerce and city of Tana, or Azoph, at the mouth of the river. They offered their gifts, admired his magnificence, and truſted his royal word. But the peaceful viſit of an emir, who explored the ſtate of the magazines and harbour, was ſpeedily followed by the deſtructive preſence of the Tartars. The city was reduced to aſhes, the Moſlems were pillaged and diſmiſſed; but all the Chriſtians, who had not fled to their ſhips, were condemned either to death or ſlavery[22]. Revenge prompted him to burn the cities of Serai and Aſtrachan, the monuments of riſing civilization;

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[18] Inſtitutions of Timour, p. 123. 125. Mr. White, the editor, beſtows ſome animadverſion on the ſuperficial account of Sherefeddin (l. iii. c. 12, 13, 14.), who was ignorant of the deſigns of Timour, and the true ſprings of action.

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[19] The furs of Ruſſia are more credible than the ingots. But the linen of Antioch has never been famous; and Antioch was in ruins. I ſuſpect that it was ſome manufacture of Europe, which the Hanſe merchants had imported by the way of Novogorod.

[20] M. Leveſque (Hiſt. de Ruſſie, tom. ii. p. 247. Vie de Timour, p. 64–67. before the French verſion of the Inſtitutes) has corrected the error of Sherefeddin, and marked the true limit of Timour's conqueſts. His arguments are ſuperfluous; and a ſimple appeal to the Ruſſian annals is ſufficient to prove that Moſcow, which ſix years before had been taken by Toctamiſh, eſcaped the arms of a more formidable invader.

[21] An Egyptian conſul from Grand Cairo is mentioned in Barbaro's voyage to Tana in the year 1436, after the city had been rebuilt (Ramuſio, tom. ii. fol. 92.).

[22] The ſack of Azoph is deſcribed by Sherefeddin (l. iii. c. 55.), and much more particularly by the author of an Italian chronicle (Andreas de Reduſiis de Quero, in Chron. Tarviſiano, in Muratori Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. xix. p. 802–805.).—He had converſed with the Mianis, two Venetian brothers, one of whom had been deputed to the camp of Timour, and the other had loſt at Azoph three ſons and 12,000 ducats.

and his vanity proclaimed, that he had penetrated to the region of perpetual daylight a ſtrange phenomenon, which authoriſed his Mahometan doctors to diſpenſe with the obligation of evening prayer[23].

III. Of Hindoſtan, A.D. 1398, 1399.

III. When Timour firſt propoſed to his princes and emirs the invaſion of India or Hindoſtan[24], he was anſwered by a murmur of diſcontent: "The rivers! and the mountains and deſerts! and "the ſoldiers clad in armour! and the elephants, "deſtroyers of men!" But the diſpleaſure of the emperor was more dreadful than all theſe terrors; and his ſuperior reaſon was convinced, that an enterpriſe of ſuch tremendous aſpect was ſafe and eaſy in the execution. He was informed by his ſpies of the weakneſs and anarchy of Hindoſtan: the Soubahs of the provinces had erected the ſtandard of rebellion; and the perpetual infancy of ſultan Mahmood was deſpiſed even in the haram of Delhi. The Mogul army moved in three great diviſions: and Timour obſerves with pleaſure, that the ninety-two ſquadrons of a thouſand horſe moſt fortunately correſponded with the ninety-two names or epithets of the prophet Mahomet. Between the Jihoon and the Indus, they croſſed one of the ridges of mountains, which are ſtyled by the Arabian geographers The ſtony girdles of the earth. The highland robbers were ſubdued or extirpated; but great numbers of men and horſes periſhed in the ſnow; the emperor himſelf was let down a precipice on a portable ſcaffold, the ropes were one hundred and fifty cubits in length; and, before he could reach the bottom, this dangerous operation was five times repeated. Timour croſſed the Indus at the ordinary paſſage of Attok; and ſucceſſively traverſed, in the foot-ſteps of Alexander, the *Punjab*, or five rivers[25], that fall into the maſter-ſtream. From Attok to Delhi, the high road meaſures no more than ſix hundred miles; but the two conquerors deviated to the ſouth-eaſt; and the motive of Timour was to join his grandſon, who had atchieved by his command the conqueſt of Moultan. On the eaſtern bank of the Hyphaſis, on the edge of the deſert, the Macedonian hero halted and wept: the Mogul entered the deſert, reduced the fortreſs of Batnir, and ſtood in arms before the gates of Delhi, a great and flouriſhing city, which had ſubſiſted three centuries under the dominion of the Mahometan kings. The ſiege, more eſpecially of the caſtle, might have been a work of time; but he tempted, by the appearance of weakneſs, the ſultan Mahmood and his vizir to deſcend into the plain, with ten thouſand cuiraſſiers, forty thouſand of his foot-guards, and one hundred and twenty elephants, whoſe tuſks are ſaid to have been armed with ſharp and poiſoned daggers. Againſt theſe monſters, or rather againſt the imagination of his troops, he condeſcended to uſe ſome extraordinary precautions of fire and a ditch, of iron ſpikes and a rampart of bucklers; but the event taught the Moguls to ſmile at their own fears; and, as ſoon as theſe unwieldy animals were routed, the inferior ſpecies (the men of India) diſappeared from the field. Timour made his triumphal entry into the capital of Hindoſtan; and admired, with a view to imitate, the architecture of the ſtately moſch; but the order and licence of a general pillage and maſſacre polluted the feſtival of his victory. He reſolved to purify his ſoldiers in the blood of the idolaters, or Gentoos, who ſtill ſurpaſs, in the proportion of ten to one, the numbers of the Moſlems. In this pious deſign, he advanced one hundred miles to the north-eaſt of Delhi, paſſed the Ganges, fought ſeveral battles by land and water, and penetrated to the famous rock of Coupele, the ſtatue of the cow, that *ſeems* to diſcharge the mighty river, whoſe ſource is far diſtant among the mountains of Thibet[26]. His return was along the ſkirts of the northern hills; nor could this rapid campaign of one year juſtify the ſtrange foreſight of his emirs, that their children in a warm climate would degenerate into a race of Hindoos.

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[23] Sherefeddin only ſays (l. iii. c. 13.), that the rays of the ſetting, and thoſe of the riſing ſun, were ſcarcely ſeparated by any interval; a problem which may be ſolved in the latitude of Moſcow (the 56th degree), with the aid of the Aurora Borealis and a long ſummer twilight. But a *day* of forty days (Khondemir apud d'Herbelot, p. 880.) would rigorouſly confine us within the polar circle.

[24] For the Indian war, ſee the Inſtitutions (p. 129—139), the fourth book of Sherefeddin, and the hiſtory of Feriſhta, (in Dow, vol. ii. p. 1—20.), which throws a general light on the affairs of Hindoſtan.

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[25] The rivers of the Punjab, the five eaſtern branches of the Indus, have been laid down for the firſt time with truth and accuracy in Major Rennel's incomparable map of Hindoſtan. In his Critical Memoir, he illuſtrates with judgment and learning the marches of Alexander and Timour.

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[26] The two great rivers, the Ganges and Burrampooter, riſe in Thibet, from the oppoſite ridges of the ſame hills, ſeparate from each other to the diſtance of 1200 miles, and, after a winding courſe of 2000 miles, again meet in one point near the gulf of Bengal. Yet ſo capricious is Fame, that the Burrampooter is a late diſcovery, while his brother Ganges has been the theme of ancient and modern ſtory. Coupele, the ſcene of Timour's laſt victory,

His war againſt ſultan Bajazet, A.D. 1400, Sept. 1.

It was on the banks of the Ganges that Timour was informed, by his ſpeedy meſſengers, of the diſturbances which had ariſen on the confines of Georgia and Anatolia, of the revolt of the Chriſtians, and the ambitious deſigns of the ſultan Bajazet. His vigour of mind and body was not impaired by ſixty-three years, and innumerable fatigues; and, after enjoying ſome tranquil months in the palace of Samarcand, he proclaimed a new expedition of ſeven years into the weſtern countries of Aſia[27]. To the ſoldiers who had ſerved in the Indian war, he granted the choice of remaining at home, or following their prince; but the troops of all the provinces and kingdoms of Perſia were commanded to aſſemble at Iſpahan, and wait the arrival of the imperial ſtandard. It was firſt directed againſt the Chriſtians of Georgia, who were ſtrongly defended by their rocks, their caſtles, and the winter ſeaſon; but theſe obſtacles were overcome by the zeal and perſeverance of Timour: the rebels ſubmitted to the tribute or the Koran; and if both religions boaſted of their martyrs, that name is more juſtly due to the Chriſtian priſoners,

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must be ſituate near Loldong, 1100 miles from Calcutta; and in 1774, a Britiſh camp! (Rennel's Memoir, p. 7. 59. 90, 91. 99.)

[27] See the Inſtitutions of Timour, p. 141. to the end of the 1ſt book, and Sherefeddin (l. v. c. 1-16.), to the entrance of Timour into Syria.

priſoners, who were offered the choice of abjuration or death. On his deſcent from the hills, the emperor gave audience to the firſt ambaſſadors of Bajazet, and opened the hoſtile correſpondence of complaints and menaces; which fermented two years before the final exploſion. Between two jealous and haughty neighbours, the motives of quarrel will ſeldom be wanting. The Mogul and Ottoman conqueſts now touched each other in the neighbourhood of Erzerum, and the Euphrates; nor had the doubtful limit been aſcertained by time and treaty. Each of theſe ambitious monarchs might accuſe his rival of violating his territory; of threatening his vaſſals; and protecting his rebels; and, by the name of rebels, each underſtood the fugitive princes, whoſe kingdoms he had uſurped, and whoſe life or liberty he implacably purſued. The reſemblance of character was ſtill more dangerous than the oppoſition of intereſt; and in their victorious career, Timour was impatient of an equal, and Bajazet was ignorant of a ſuperior. The firſt epiſtle [28] of the Mogul emperor muſt have provoked, inſtead of reconciling the Turkiſh ſultan; whoſe family and nation he affected to deſpiſe [29].

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[28] We have three copies of theſe hoſtile epiſtles in the Inſtitutions (p. 147.), in Sherefeddin (l. v. c. 14.), and in Arabſhah (tom. ii. c. 19. p. 183—201.); which agree with each other in the ſpirit and ſubſtance rather than in the ſtyle. It is probable, that they have been tranſlated, with various latitude, from the Turkiſh original into the Arabic and Perſian tongues.

[29] The Mogul emir diſtinguiſhes himſelf and his countrymen by the name of *Turks*, and ſtigmatiſes the race and nation of Bajazet with the leſs honourable epithet of *Turkmans*. Yet I

"Doſt thou not know, that the greateſt part of "Aſia is ſubject to our arms and our laws? that "our invincible forces extend from one ſea to "the other? that the potentates of the earth "form a line before our gate? and that we have "compelled fortune herſelf to watch over the "proſperity of our empire? What is the foundation "of thy inſolence and folly? Thou haſt "fought ſome battles in the woods of Anatolia; "contemptible trophies! Thou haſt obtained "ſome victories over the Chriſtians of Europe; "thy ſword was bleſſed by the apoſtle of God; "and thy obedience to the precept of the Koran, "in waging war againſt the infidels, is the ſole "conſideration that prevents us from deſtroying "thy country, the frontier and bulwark of the "Moſlem world. Be wiſe in time; reflect; "repent; and avert the thunder of our vengeance, "which is yet ſuſpended over thy head. Thou "art no more than a piſmire; why wilt thou ſeek "to provoke the elephants? Alas, they will "trample thee under their feet." In his replies, Bajazet poured forth the indignation of a ſoul which was deeply ſtung by ſuch unuſual contempt. After retorting the baſeſt reproaches on the thief and rebel of the deſert, the Ottoman recapitulates his boaſted victories in Iran, Touran, and the Indies; and labours to prove, that Timour had never triumphed unleſs by his own perfidy and the vices of his foes. "Thy armies are innumerable: "be they ſo; but what are the arrows of

[illegible] Ottomans [illegible]

" the flying Tartar againſt the ſcymetars and " battle-axes of my firm and invincible Janizaries? " I will guard the princes who have implored my " protection: ſeek them in my tents. The cities " of Arzingan and Erzeroum are mine, and " unleſs the tribute be duly paid, I will demand " the arrears under the walls of Tauris and Sul- " tania." The ungovernable rage of the ſultan at length betrayed him to an inſult of a more domeſtic kind. " If I fly from thy arms," ſaid he, " may *my* wives be thrice divorced from my " bed: but if thou haſt not courage to meet me " in the field, mayeſt thou again receive *thy* wives " after they have thrice endured the embraces of " a ſtranger[30]." Any violation by word or deed of the ſecrecy of the Haram is an unpardonable offence among the Turkiſh nations[31]; and the political quarrel of the two monarchs was embittered by private and perſonal reſentment. Yet in his firſt expedition, Timour was ſatisfied with the ſiege and deſtruction of Siwas or Sebaſte, a ſtrong city on the borders of Anatolia; and he revenged the indiſcretion of the Ottoman, on a garriſon of four thouſand Armenians, who were buried alive for the brave and faithful diſcharge of their duty. As a Muſulman he ſeemed to reſpect the pious occupation of Bajazet, who was ſtill engaged in the blockade of Conſtantinople: and after this ſalutary leſſon, the Mogul conqueror checked his purſuit, and turned aſide to the invaſion of Syria and Egypt. In theſe tranſactions, the Ottoman prince, by the Orientals, and even by Timour, is ſtyled the *Kaiſſar of Roum*, the Cæſar of the Romans: a title which, by a ſmall anticipation, might be given to a monarch who poſſeſſed the provinces, and threatened the city, of the ſucceſſors of Conſtantine [32].

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[30] According to the Koran (c. ii. p. 27. and Sale's Diſcourſes, p. 134.), a Muſulman who had thrice divorced his wife (who had thrice repeated the words of a divorce), could not take her again, till after ſhe had been married *to*, and repudiated *by*, another huſband; an ignominious tranſaction, which it is needleſs to aggravate by ſuppoſing, that the firſt huſband muſt ſee her enjoyed by a ſecond before his face (Rycaut's ſtate of the Ottoman Empire, l. ii. c. 21.).

[31] The common delicacy of the Orientals, in never ſpeaking of their women, is aſcribed in a much higher degree by Arabſhah to the Turkiſh nations; and it is remarkable enough that Chalcondyles (l. ii. p. 55.) had ſome knowledge of the prejudice, and the inſult.

Timour invades Syria, A.D. 1400.

The military republic of the Mamalukes ſtill reigned in Egypt and Syria: but the dynaſty of the Turks was overthrown by that of the Circaſſians [33]; and their favourite Barkok, from a ſlave and a priſoner, was raiſed and reſtored to the throne. In the midſt of rebellion and diſcord, he braved the menaces, correſponded with the enemies, and detained the ambaſſadors, of the Mogul, who patiently expected his deceaſe, to revenge the crimes of the father on the feeble reign of his ſon Farage. The Syrian emirs [34] were aſſembled at Aleppo to repel the invaſion: they confided in the fame and diſcipline of the Mamalukes, in the temper of their ſwords and lances of the pureſt ſteel of Damaſcus, in the ſtrength of their walled cities, and in the populouſneſs of ſixty thouſand villages: and inſtead of ſuſtaining a ſiege, they threw open their gates, and arrayed their forces in the plain. But theſe forces were not cemented by virtue and union; and ſome powerful emirs had been ſeduced to deſert or betray their more loyal companions. Timour's front was covered with a line of Indian elephants, whoſe turrets were filled with archers and Greek fire: the rapid evolutions of his cavalry compleated the diſmay and diſorder; the Syrian crowds fell back on each other; many thouſands were ſtifled or ſlaughtered in the entrance of the great ſtreet; the Moguls entered with the fugitives; and, after a ſhort defence, the citadel, the impregnable citadel of Aleppo, was ſurrendered by cowardice or treachery. Among the ſuppliants and captives, Timour diſtinguiſhed the doctors of the law, whom he invited to the dangerous honour of a perſonal conference[35]. The Mogul prince was a zealous Muſulman; but his Perſian ſchools had taught him to revere the memory of Ali and Hoſain; and he had imbibed

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[32] For the ſtyle of the Moguls, ſee the Inſtitutions (p. 131. 147.), and for the Perſians, the Bibliothèque Orientale (p. 882.); but I do not find that the title of Cæſar has been applied by the Arabians, or aſſumed by the Ottomans themſelves.

[33] See the reigns of Barkok and Pharadge, in M. de Guignes (tom. iv. l. xxii.), who, from the Arabic texts of Aboulmahaſen, Ebn Schounah, and Aintabi, has added ſome facts to our common ſtock of materials.

[34] For theſe recent and domeſtic tranſactions, Arabſhah, though a partial, is a credible, witneſs (tom. i. c. 64—68. tom.

Sacks Aleppo, A. D. 1400, Nov. 11,

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tom. ii. c. 1—14.). Timour muſt have been odious to a Syrian; but the notoriety of facts would have obliged him, in ſome meaſure, to reſpect his enemy and himſelf. His bitters may correct the luſcious ſweets of Sherefeddin (l. v. c. 17—29.).

[35] Theſe intereſting converſations appear to have been copied by Arabſhah (tom. i. c. 68. p. 625—645.) from the cadhi and hiſtorian Ebn Schounah, a principal actor. Yet how could he be alive ſeventy-five years afterwards (d'Herbelot, p. 792.)?

CHAP. LXV.

a deep prejudice againſt the Syrians, as the enemies of the ſon of the daughter of the apoſtle of God. To theſe doctors he propoſed a captious queſtion, which the caſuiſts of Bochara, Samarcand, and Herat, were incapable of reſolving. "Who "are the true martyrs, of thoſe who are ſlain on "my ſide, or on that of my enemies?" But he was ſilenced, or ſatisfied by the dexterity of one of the cadhis of Aleppo, who replied, in the words of Mahomet himſelf, that the motive, not the enſign, conſtitutes the martyr; and that the Moſlems of either party, who fight only for the glory of God, may deſerve that ſacred appellation. The true ſucceſſion of the caliphs was a controverſy of a ſtill more delicate nature, and the frankneſs of a doctor, too honeſt for his ſituation, provoked the emperor to exclaim, "Ye are as falſe "as thoſe of Damaſcus: Moawiyah was an "uſurper, Yezid a tyrant, and Ali alone is the "lawful ſucceſſor of the prophet." A prudent explanation reſtored his tranquillity; and he paſſed to a more familiar topic of converſation. "What is your age?" ſaid he to the cadhi. "Fifty years."—"It would be the age of my "eldeſt ſon: you ſee me here (continued "Timour) a poor, lame, decrepit mortal. Yet "by my arm has the Almighty been pleaſed to "ſubdue the kingdoms of Iran, Touran, and "the Indies. I am not a man of blood; and "God is my witneſs, that in all my wars I have "never been the aggreſſor, and that my enemies "have always been the authors of their own "calamity." During this peaceful converſation, the ſtreets of Aleppo ſtreamed with blood, and re-echoed with the cries of mothers and children, with the ſhrieks of violated virgins. The rich plunder that was abandoned to his ſoldiers might ſtimulate their avarice; but their cruelty was enforced by the peremptory command of producing an adequate number of heads, which, according to his cuſtom, were curiouſly piled in columns and pyramids: the Moguls celebrated the feaſt of victory, while the ſurviving Moſlems paſſed the night in tears and in chains. I ſhall not dwell on the march of the deſtroyer from Aleppo to Damaſcus, where he was rudely encountered, and almoſt overthrown, by the armies of Egypt. A retrograde motion was imputed to his diſtreſs and deſpair: one of his nephews deſerted to the enemy; and Syria rejoiced in the tale of his defeat, when the ſultan was driven by the revolt of the Mamalukes to eſcape with precipitation and ſhame to his palace of Cairo. Abandoned by their prince, the inhabitants of Damaſcus ſtill defended their walls; and Timour conſented to raiſe the ſiege, if they would adorn his retreat with a gift or ranſom; each article of nine pieces. But no ſooner had he introduced himſelf into the city, under colour of a truce, than he perfidiouſly violated the treaty; impoſed a contribution of ten millions of gold; and animated his troops to chaſtiſe the poſterity of thoſe Syrians who had executed, or approved, the murder of the grandſon of Mahomet. A family which had given honourable burial to the head of Hoſein, and

Damaſcus, A.D. 1401, Jan. 23,

and a colony of artificers whom he ſent to labour at Samarcand, were alone reſerved in the general maſſacre; and, after a period of ſeven centuries, Damaſcus was reduced to aſhes, becauſe a Tartar was moved by religious zeal to avenge the blood of an Arab. The loſſes and fatigues of the campaign obliged Timour to renounce the conqueſt of Paleſtine and Egypt; but in his return to the Euphrates, he delivered Aleppo to the flames; and juſtified his pious motive by the pardon and reward of two thouſand ſectaries of Ali, who were deſirous to viſit the tomb of his ſon. I have expatiated on the perſonal anecdotes which mark the character of the Mogul hero; but I ſhall briefly mention[36], that he erected on the ruins of Bagdad a pyramid of ninety thouſand heads; again viſited Georgia; encamped on the banks of Araxes; and proclaimed his reſolution of marching againſt the Ottoman emperor. Conſcious of the importance of the war, he collected his forces from every province: eight hundred thouſand men were enrolled on his military liſt[37];

and Bagdad, A.D. 1401, July 23.

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[36] The marches and occupations of Timour between the Syrian and Ottoman wars, are repreſented by Sherefeddin (l. v. c. 29—43.) and Arabſhah (tom. ii. c. 15—18.).

[37] This number of 800,000 was extracted by Arabſhah, or rather by Ebn Schounah, ex rationario Timuri, on the faith of a Carizmian officer (tom. i. c. 68. p. 617.); and it is remarkable enough, that a Greek hiſtorian (Phranza, l. i. c. 29.) adds no more than 20,000 men. Poggius reckons 1,000,000; another Latin contemporary (Chron. Tarviſianum, apud Muratori, tom. xix. p. 800.) 1,100,000; and the enormous ſum of 1,600,000 is atteſted by a German ſoldier, who was preſent at the battle of Angora (Leunclav. ad Chalcondyl. l. iii. p. 82.). Timour, in his Inſtitutions, has not deigned to calculate his troops, his ſubjects, or his revenues.

but the ſplendid commands of five, and ten, thouſand horſe, may be rather expreſſive of the rank and penſion of the chiefs, than of the genuine number of effective ſoldiers[38]. In the pillage of Syria, the Moguls had acquired immenſe riches: but the delivery of their pay and arrears for ſeven years, more firmly attached them to the Imperial ſtandard.

Invades Anatolia, A.D. 1402.

During this diverſion of the Mogul arms, Bajazet had two years to collect his forces for a more ſerious encounter. They conſiſted of four hundred thouſand horſe and foot[39], whoſe merit and fidelity were of an unequal complexion. We may diſcriminate the Janizaries who have been gradually raiſed to an eſtabliſhment of forty thouſand men; a national cavalry, the Spahis of modern times; twenty thouſand cuiraſſiers of Europe, clad in black and impenetrable armour; the troops of Anatolia, whoſe princes had taken refuge in the camp of Timour, and a colony of Tartars, whom he had driven from Kipzak, and to whom Bajazet had aſſigned a ſettlement in the plains of Adrianople. The fearleſs confidence of the ſultan urged him to meet his antagoniſt; and, as if he had choſen that ſpot for revenge, he diſplayed his banners near the ruins of the unfortunate Suvas. In the mean while, Timour moved from the Araxes through the countries of Armenia and Anatolia: his boldneſs was ſecured by the wiſeſt precautions; his ſpeed was guided by order and diſcipline; and the woods, the mountains, and the rivers, were diligently explored by the flying ſquadrons, who marked his road and preceded his ſtandard. Firm in his plan of fighting in the heart of the Ottoman kingdom, he avoided their camp; dextrouſly inclined to the left; occupied Cæſarea; traverſed the ſalt deſert and the river Halys; and inveſted Angora: while the ſultan, immoveable and ignorant in his poſt, compared the Tartar ſwiftneſs to the crawling of a ſnail[40]: he returned on the wings of indignation to the relief of Angora; and as both generals were alike impatient for action, the plains round that city were the ſcene of a memorable battle, which has immortaliſed the glory of Timour and the ſhame of Bajazet. For this ſignal victory, the Mogul emperor was indebted to himſelf, to the genius of the moment, and the diſcipline of thirty years. He had improved the tactics, without violating the manners, of his nation[41], whoſe force ſtill conſiſted in the miſſile weapons, and rapid evolutions, of a numerous

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[38] A wide latitude of non-effectives was allowed by the Great Mogul for his own pride and the benefit of his officers. Bernier's patron was Penge-Hazari, commander of 5000 horſe; of which he maintained no more than 500 (Voyages, tom. i. p. 288, 289.).

[39] Timour himſelf fixes at 400,000 men the Ottoman army (Inſtitutions, p. 153.), which is reduced to 150,000 by Phranza (l. i. c. 29.), and ſwelled by the German ſoldier to 1,400,000. It is evident, that the Moguls were the more numerous.

Battle of Angora, A.D. 1402, July 28.

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[40] It may not be uſeleſs to mark the diſtances between Angora and the neighbouring cities, by the journies of the caravans, each of twenty or twenty-five miles: to Smyrna xx. to Kiotahia x. to Bourſa x. to Cæſarea viii. to Sinope x. to Nicomedia ix. to Conſtantinople xii. or xiii. (See Tournefort, Voyage au Levant, tom. ii. lettre xxi.)

[41] See the Syſtems of Tactics in the Inſtitutions, which the Engliſh editors have illuſtrated with elaborate plans. (p. 373—407.)

cavalry. From a ſingle troop to a great army, the mode of attack was the ſame: a foremoſt line firſt advanced to the charge, and was ſupported in a juſt order by the ſquadrons of the great vanguard. The general's eye watched over the field, and at his command the front and rear of the right and left wings ſucceſſively moved forwards in their ſeveral diviſions, and in a direct or oblique line: the enemy was preſſed by eighteen or twenty attacks; and each attack afforded a chance of victory. If they all proved fruitleſs or unſucceſsful, the occaſion was worthy of the emperor himſelf, who gave the ſignal of advancing to the ſtandard and main body, which he led in perſon [24]. But in the battle of Angora, the main body itſelf was ſupported, on the flanks and in the rear, by the braveſt ſquadrons of the reſerve, commanded by the ſons and grandſons of Timour. The conqueror of Hindoſtan oſtentatiouſly ſhewed a line of elephants, the trophies, rather than the inſtruments, of victory: the uſe of the Greek fire was familiar to the Moguls and Ottomans: but had they borrowed from Europe the recent invention of gunpowder and cannon, the artificial thunder, in the hands of either nation, muſt have turned the fortune of the day [43]. In that day,

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[42] The ſultan himſelf (ſays Timour) muſt then put the foot of courage into the ſtirrup of patience. A Tartar metaphor, which is loſt in the Engliſh, but preſerved in the French, verſion of the Inſtitutes (p. 156, 157.).

[43] The Greek fire, on Timour's ſide, is atteſted by Sherefeddin (l. v. c. 47.); but Voltaire's ſtrange ſuſpicion, that ſome cannon, inſcribed with ſtrange characters, muſt have been ſent by that monarch to Dehli, is refuted by the univerſal ſilence of contemporaries.

Bajazet diſplayed the qualities of a ſoldier and a chief: but his genius ſunk under a ſtronger aſcendant; and from various motives, the greateſt part of his troops failed him in the deciſive moment. His rigour and avarice had provoked a mutiny among the Turks; and even his ſon Soliman too haſtily withdrew from the field. The forces of Anatolia, loyal in their revolt, were drawn away to the banners of their lawful princes. His Tartar allies had been tempted by the letters and emiſſaries of Timour[44]; who reproached their ignoble ſervitude under the ſlaves of their fathers; and offered to their hopes the dominion of their new, or the liberty of their ancient, country. In the right wing of Bajazet, the cuiraſſiers of Europe charged, with faithful hearts and irreſiſtible arms; but theſe men of iron were ſoon broken by an artful flight and headlong purſuit: and the Janizaries, alone, without cavalry or miſſile weapons, were encompaſſed by the circle of the Mogul hunters. Their valour was at length oppreſſed by heat, thirſt, and the weight of numbers; and the unfortunate ſultan, afflicted with the gout in his hands and feet, was tranſported from the field on the fleeteſt of his horſes. He was purſued and taken by the titular khan of Zagatai; and after his capture, and the defeat of the Ottoman powers, the kingdom of Anatolia

Defeat and captivity of Bajazet.

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[44] Timour has diſſembled this ſecret and important negociation with the Tartars, which is indiſputably proved by the joint evidence of the Arabian (tom. i. c. 47. p. 391.), Turkish (Annal. Leunclav. p. 321.), and Perſian hiſtorians (Khondemir, apud d'Herbelot, p. 882.).

ſubmitted to the conqueror, who planted his ſtandard at Kiotahia, and diſperſed on all ſides the miniſters of rapine and deſtruction. Mirza Mehemmed Sultan, the eldeſt and beſt beloved of his grandſons, was diſpatched to Bourſa with thirty thouſand horſe: and ſuch was his youthful ardour, that he arrived with only four thouſand at the gates of the capital, after performing in five days a march of two hundred and thirty miles. Yet fear is ſtill more rapid in its courſe: and Soliman, the ſon of Bajazet, had already paſſed over to Europe with the royal treaſure. The ſpoil, however, of the palace and city was immenſe: the inhabitants had eſcaped; but the buildings, for the moſt part of wood, were reduced to aſhes. From Bourſa, the grandſon of Timour advanced to Nice, even yet a fair and flouriſhing city; and the Mogul ſquadrons were only ſtopped by the waves of the Propontis. The ſame ſucceſs attended the other mirzas and emirs in their excurſions: and Smyrna, defended by the zeal and courage of the Rhodian knights, alone deſerved the preſence of the emperor himſelf. After an obſtinate defence, the place was taken by ſtorm; all that breathed was put to the ſword; and the heads of the Chriſtian heroes were launched from the engines, on board of two carracks, or great ſhips of Europe, that rode at anchor in the harbour. The Moſlems of Aſia rejoiced in their deliverance from a dangerous and domeſtic foe, and a parallel was drawn between the two rivals, by obſerving that Timour, in fourteen days, had reduced a fortreſs which had ſuſtained ſeven years the ſiege, or at leaſt the blockade, of Bajazet[45].

The ſtory of his iron cage

The *iron cage* in which Bajazet was impriſoned by Tamerlane, ſo long and ſo often repeated as a moral leſſon, is now rejected as a fable by the modern writers, who ſmile at the vulgar credulity[46]. They appeal with confidence to the Perſian hiſtory of Sherefeddin Ali, which has been given to our curioſity in a French verſion, and from which I ſhall collect and abridge a more ſpecious narrative of this memorable tranſaction.

diſproved by the Perſian hiſtorian of Timour;

No ſooner was Timour informed that the captive Ottoman was at the door of his tent, than he graciouſly ſtept forwards to receive him, ſeated him by his ſide, and mingled with juſt reproaches a ſoothing pity for his rank and misfortune. "Alas!" ſaid the emperor, "the decree of fate "is now accompliſhed by your own fault: it is "the web which you have woven, the thorns "of the tree which yourſelf have planted. I "wiſhed to ſpare, and even to aſſiſt, the cham-"pion of the Moſlems: you braved our threats; "you deſpiſed our friendſhip; you forced us to "enter your kingdom with our invincible armies. "Behold the event. Had you vanquiſhed, I am

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[45] For the war of Anatolia or Roum, I add ſome hints in the Inſtitutions, to the copious narratives of Sherefeddin (l. v. c. 44—65.) and Arabſhah (tom. ii. c. 20—35.). On this part only of Timour's hiſtory, it is lawful to quote the Turks (Cantemir, p. 53—55. Annal. Leunclav. p. 320—322.) and the Greeks (Phranza, l. i. c. 29. Ducas, c. 15—17. Chalcocondyles, l. iii.).

[46] The ſcepticiſm of Voltaire (Eſſai ſur l'Hiſtoire Generale, c. 88.) is ready on this, as on every occaſion, to reject a popular tale, and to diminiſh the magnitude of vice and virtue; and on moſt occaſions his incredulity is reaſonable.

“ not ignorant of the fate which you reſerved for “ myſelf and my troops. But I diſdain to re-“ taliate: your life and honour are ſecure; and “ I ſhall expreſs my gratitude to God by my “ clemency to man.” The royal captive ſhewed ſome ſigns of repentance, accepted the humiliation of a robe of honour, and embraced with tears his ſon Mouſa, who, at his requeſt, was ſought and found among the captives of the field. The Ottoman princes were lodged in a ſplendid pavillion; and the reſpect of the guards could be ſurpaſſed only by their vigilance. On the arrival of the haram from Bourſa, Timour reſtored the queen Deſpina and her daughter to their father and huſband; but he piouſly required, that the Servian princeſs, who had hitherto been indulged in the profeſſion of Chriſtianity, ſhould embrace without delay the religion of the prophet. In the feaſt of victory, to which Bajazet was invited, the Mogul emperor placed a crown on his head and a ſceptre in his hand, with a ſolemn aſſurance of reſtoring him with an increaſe of glory to the throne of his anceſtors. But the effect of this promiſe was diſappointed by the ſultan's untimely death: amidſt the care of the moſt ſkilful phyſicians, he expired of an apoplexy at Akſhehr, the Antioch of Piſidia, about nine months after his defeat. The victor dropped a tear over his grave; his body, with royal pomp, was conveyed to the mauſoleum which he had erected at Bourſa; and his ſon Mouſa, after receiving a rich preſent of gold and jewels, of horſes and arms, was inveſted

veſted by a patent in red ink with the kingdom of Anatolia.

Such is the portrait of a generous conqueror, which has been extracted from his own memorials, and dedicated to his ſon and grandſon, nineteen years after his deceaſe [47]; and, at a time when the truth was remembered by thouſands, a manifeſt falſehood would have implied a ſatire on his real conduct. Weighty indeed is this evidence, adopted by all the Perſian hiſtories [48]; yet flattery, more eſpecially in the Eaſt, is baſe and audacious; and the harſh and ignominious treatment of Bajazet is atteſted by a chain of witneſſes, ſome of whom ſhall be produced in the order of their time and country. 1. The reader has not forgot the garriſon of French, whom the marſhal Boucicault left behind him for the defence of Conſtantinople. They were on the ſpot to receive the earlieſt and moſt faithful intelligence of the overthrow of their great adverſary; and it is more than probable, that ſome of them accompanied the Greek embaſſy to the camp of Tamerlane. From their account, the *hardſhips* of the priſon and death of Bajazet are affirmed by the marſhal's ſervant and hiſtorian, within the

atteſted, 1. by the French;

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[47] See the Hiſtory of Sherefeddin (l. v. c. 49. 52, 53. 59, 60.). This work was finiſhed at Shiraz, in the year 1424, and dedicated to Sultan Ibrahim, the ſon of Sharokh, the ſon of Timour, who reigned in Farſiſtan in his father's lifetime.

[48] After the peruſal of Khondemir, Ebn Schounah, &c. the learned d'Herbelot (Bibliot. Orientale, p. 882.) may affirm, that th[illegible]t authentic hiſtories; but his de[illegible] of Arabſhah, leaves ſome room to ſuſpe[illegible].

distant

2. by the Italians;

diſtance of ſeven years[49]. 2. The name of Poggius the Italian[50] is deſervedly famous among the revivers of learning in the fifteenth century. His elegant dialogue on the viciſſitudes of fortune[51] was compoſed in his fiftieth year, twenty-eight years after the Turkiſh victory of Tamerlane[52]; whom he celebrates as not inferior to the illuſtrious Barbarians of antiquity. Of his exploits and diſcipline Poggius was informed by ſeveral ocular witneſſes; nor does he forget an example ſo appoſite to his theme as the Ottoman monarch, whom the Scythian confined like a wild beaſt in an iron cage, and exhibited a ſpectacle to Aſia. I might add the authority of two Italian chronicles, perhaps of an earlier date, which would prove at leaſt that the ſame ſtory, whether falſe or true, was imported into Europe

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[49] Et fut lui-meme (*Bajazet*) pris, et mené en priſon, en laquelle mourut de *dure mort!* Memoires de Boucicault, P. i. c. 37. These memoirs were compoſed while the marſhal was ſtill governor of Genoa, from whence he was expelled in the year 1409. by a popular inſurrection (Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. xii. p. 473, 474.).

[50] The reader will find a ſatisfactory account of the life and writings of Poggius, in the Poggiana, an entertaining work of M. Lenfant, and in the Bibliotheca Latina mediæ et infimæ Ætatis of Fabricius (tom. v. p. 305—308.). Poggius was born in the year 1380, and died in 1459.

[51] The dialogue de Varietate Fortunæ (of which a complete and elegant edition has been publiſhed at Paris in 1723, in 4to), was compoſed a ſhort time before the death of pope Martin V. (p. 5.), and conſequently about the end of the year 1430.

[52] See a ſplendid and eloquent encomium of Tamerlane, p. 36—39. ipſe enim novi (ſays Poggius) qui fuere in ejus caſtris . . . . Regem vivum cepit caveâque in modum feræ incluſum per omnem Aſiam circumtulit egregium admirandumque ſpectaculum fortunæ.

CHAP. LXV.

3. by the Arabs;

with the firſt tidings of the revolution[53]. 3. At the time when Poggius flouriſhed at Rome, Ahmed Ebn Arabſhah compoſed at Damaſcus the florid and malevolent hiſtory of Timour, for which he had collected materials in his journies over Turkey and Tartary[54]. Without any poſſible correſpondence between the Latin and the Arabian writer, they agree in the fact of the iron cage; and their agreement is a ſtriking proof of their common veracity. Ahmed Arabſhah likewiſe relates another outrage, which Bajazet endured, of a more domeſtic and tender nature. His indiſcreet mention of women and divorces was deeply reſented by the jealous Tartar: in the feaſt of victory, the wine was ſerved by female cupbearers, and the ſultan beheld his own concubines and wives confounded among the ſlaves, and expoſed without a veil to the eyes of intemperance. To eſcape a ſimilar indignity, it is ſaid, that his ſucceſſors, except in a ſingle inſtance, have abſtained from legitimate nuptials; and the Ottoman practice and belief, at leaſt in the ſixteenth century, is atteſted by the obſerving Buſbequius[55], ambaſſador from the court of Vienna to the great Soliman. 4. Such is the ſeparation of language, that the teſtimony of a Greek is not leſs independent than that of a Latin or an Arab. I ſuppreſs the names of Chalcondyles and Ducas, who flouriſhed in a later period, and who ſpeak in a leſs poſitive tone; but more attention is due to George Phranza[56], protoveſtiare of the laſt emperors, and who was born a year before the battle of Angora. Twenty-two years after that event, he was ſent ambaſſador to Amurath the ſecond; and the hiſtorian might converſe with ſome veteran Janizaries, who had been made priſoners with the ſultan, and had themſelves ſeen him in his iron cage. 5. The laſt evidence, in every ſenſe, is that of the Turkiſh annals, which have been conſulted or tranſcribed by Leunclavius, Pocock, and Cantemir[57]. They unanimouſly deplore the captivity of the iron cage; and ſome credit may be allowed to national hiſtorians, who cannot ſtigmatize the Tartar without uncovering the ſhame of their king and country.

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[53] The Chronicon Tarviſianum (in Muratori, Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. xix. p. 800.), and the Annales Eſtenſes (tom. xviii. p. 974.). The two authors, Andrea de Redusiis de Quero, and James de Delayto, were both contemporaries, and both chancellors, the one of Trevigi, the other of Ferrara. The evidence of the former is the moſt poſitive.

[54] See Arabſhah, tom. ii. c. 28. 34. He travelled in regiones Rumæas, A. H. 839 (A. D. 1435, July 27), tom. ii. c. 2. p. 13.

[55] Buſbequius in Legatione Turcicâ, epiſt. i. p. 52. Yet his reſpectable authority is ſomewhat ſhaken by the ſubſequent marriages of Amurath II. with a Servian, and of Mahomet II. with an Aſiatic princeſs (Cantemir, p. 83. 93.).

4. by the Greeks;

5. by the Turks.

From theſe oppoſite premiſes, a fair and moderate concluſion may be deduced. I am ſatisfied that Sherefeddin Ali has faithfully deſcribed the firſt oſtentatious interview, in which the conqueror, whoſe ſpirits were harmoniſed by ſucceſs, affected the character of generoſity. But his mind was inſenſibly alienated by the unſeaſonable arrogance of Bajazet; the complaints of his enemies,

Probable concluſion.

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[56] See the teſtimony of George Phranza (l. i. c. 29.), and his life in Hanckius de Script. Byzant. P. i. c. 40.). Chalcondyles and Ducas ſpeak in general terms of Bajazet's *chains*.

[57] Annales Leunclav. p. 321. Pocock, Prolegomen. ad Abulpharag Dynaſt. Cantemir, p. 55.

mies, the Anatolian princes, were juſt and vehement; and Timour betrayed a deſign of leading his royal captive in triumph to Samarcand. An attempt to facilitate his eſcape, by digging a mine under the tent, provoked the Mogul emperor to impoſe a harſher reſtraint; and in his perpetual marches, an iron cage on a waggon might be invented, not as a wanton inſult, but as a rigorous precaution. Timour had read in ſome fabulous hiſtory a ſimilar treatment of one of his predeceſſors, a king of Perſia; and Bajazet was condemned to repreſent the perſon, and expiate the guilt, of the Roman Cæſar [23]. But the ſtrength of his mind and body fainted under the trial, and his premature death might, without injuſtice, be aſcribed to the ſeverity of Timour. He warred not with the dead; a tear and a ſepulchre were all that he could beſtow on a captive who was delivered from his power; and if Mouſa, the ſon of Bajazet, was permitted to reign over the ruins of Bourſa, the greateſt part of the province of Anatolia had been reſtored by the conqueror to their lawful ſovereigns.

Death of Bajazet, A.D. 1403, March 9.

Term of the conqueſts of Timour, A.D. 1403.

From the Irtiſh and Volga to the Perſian Gulf, and from the Ganges to Damaſcus and the Archipelago, Aſia was in the hand of Timour; his armies were invincible, his ambition was boundleſs, and his zeal might aſpire to conquer and convert the Chriſtian kingdoms of the Weſt, which already trembled at his name. He touched the utmoſt verge of the land; but an inſuperable, though narrow, ſea, rolled between the two continents of Europe and Aſia[59]; and the lord of ſo many *tomans*, or myriads, of horſe, was not maſter of a ſingle galley. The two paſſages of the Boſphorus and Helleſpont, of Conſtantinople and Gallipoli, were poſſeſſed, the one by the Chriſtians, the other by the Turks. On this great occaſion, they forgot the difference of religion, to act with union and firmneſs in the common cauſe: the double ſtreights were guarded with ſhips and fortifications; and they ſeparately withheld the tranſports which Timour demanded of either nation, under the pretence of attacking their enemy. At the ſame time, they ſoothed his pride with tributary gifts and ſuppliant embaſſies, and prudently tempted him to retreat with the honours of victory. Soliman, the ſon of Bajazet, implored his clemency for his father and himſelf; accepted, by a red patent, the inveſtiture of the kingdom of Romania, which he already held by the ſword; and reiterated his ardent wiſh, of caſting himſelf in perſon at the feet of the king of the world. The Greek emperor[60] (either John or Manuel) ſubmitted to pay the ſame tribute which he had ſtipulated with the Turkiſh ſultan, and ratified the treaty by an oath of allegiance, from which he could abſolve his conſcience ſo ſoon as the Mogul arms had retired from Anatolia. But the fears and fancy of nations aſcribed to the ambitious Tamerlane a new deſign of vaſt and romantic compaſs; a deſign of ſubduing Egypt and Africa, marching from the Nile to the Atlantic Ocean, entering Europe by the Streights of Gibraltar, and, after impoſing his yoke on the kingdoms of Chriſtendom, of returning home by the deſerts of Ruſſia and Tartary. This remote, and perhaps imaginary, danger was averted by the ſubmiſſion of the ſultan of Egypt: the honours of the prayer and the coin, atteſted at Cairo the ſupremacy of Timour; and a rare gift of a *giraffe*, or camelopard, and nine oſtriches, repreſented at Samarcand the tribute of the African world. Our imagination is not leſs aſtoniſhed by the portrait of a Mogul, who, in his camp before Smyrna, meditates and almoſt accompliſhes the invaſion of the Chineſe empire[61]. Timour was urged to this enterpriſe by national honour and religious zeal. The torrents which he had ſhed of Muſulman blood could be expiated only by an equal deſtruction of the infidels;

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[23] Sapor, king of Perſia, had been made priſoner and incloſed in the figure of a cow's hide by Maximian or Galerius Cæſar. Such is the fable related by Eutychius (Annal. tom. i. p. 421. verſ. Pocock). The recollection of the true hiſtory (Decline and Fall, &c. vol. ii. p. 144—156.) will teach us to appreciate the knowledge of the Orientals of the ages which precede the Hegira.

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[59] Arabſhah (tom. ii. c. 25.) deſcribes, like a curious traveller, the ſtreights of Gallipoli and Conſtantinople. To acquire a juſt idea of theſe events, I have compared the narratives and prejudices of the Moguls, Turks, Greeks, and Arabians. The Spaniſh ambaſſador mentions this hoſtile union of the Chriſtians and Ottomans (Vie de Timour, p. 96.).

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[60] Since the name of Cæſar had been transferred to the ſultans of Roum, the Greek princes of Conſtantinople (Sherefeddin, l. v. c. 54.) were confounded with the Chriſtian *lords* of Gallipoli, Theſſalonica, &c. under the title of *Tekkur*, which is derived by corruption from the genitive τοῦ κυρίου (Cantemir, p. 51.).

[61] See Sherefeddin, l. v. c. 4. who marks, in a juſt itinerary, the road to China, which Arabſhah (tom. ii. c. 33.) paints in vague and rhetorical colours.

fidels; and as he now ſtood at the gates of paradiſe, he might beſt ſecure his glorious entrance by demoliſhing the idols of China, founding moſchs in every city, and eſtabliſhing the profeſſion of faith in one God, and his prophet Mahomet. The recent expulſion of the houſe of Zingis was an inſult on the Mogul name; and the diſorders of the empire afforded the faireſt opportunity for revenge. The illuſtrious Hongvou, founder of the dynaſty of *Ming*, died four years before the battle of Angora; and his grandſon, a weak and unfortunate youth, was burnt in his palace, after a million of Chineſe had periſhed in the civil war[62]. Before he evacuated Anatolia, Timour diſpatched beyond the Sihoon a numerous army, or rather colony, of his old and new ſubjects, to open the road, to ſubdue the Pagan Calmucks and Mungals, and to found cities and magazines in the deſert; and, by the diligence of his lieutenant, he ſoon received a perfect map and deſcription of the unknown regions, from the ſource of the Irtiſh to the wall of China. During theſe preparations, the emperor atchieved the final conqueſt of Georgia; paſſed the winter on the banks of the Araxes; appeaſed the troubles of Perſia; and ſlowly returned to his capital, after a campaign of four years and nine months.

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[62] Synopſis Hiſt. Sinicæ, p. 74—76 (in the ivth part of the Relations de Thevenot), Duhalde, Hiſt. de la Chine (tom. i. p. 507, 508. folio edition); and for the chronology of the Chineſe emperors, de Guignes, Hiſt. des Huns, tom. i. p. 71, 72.

His triumph at Samarcand, A.D. 1404, July—A.D. 1405, January 8.

On the throne of Samarcand[63], he diſplayed, in a ſhort repoſe, his magnificence and power; liſtened to the complaints of the people; diſtributed a juſt meaſure of rewards and puniſhments; employed his riches in the architecture of palaces and temples; and gave audience to the ambaſſadors of Egypt, Arabia, India, Tartary, Ruſſia, and Spain, the laſt of whom preſented a ſuit of tapeſtry which eclipſed the pencil of the Oriental artiſts. The marriage of ſix of the emperor's grandſons was eſteemed an act of religion, as well as of paternal tenderneſs; and the pomp of the ancient caliphs was revived in their nuptials. They were celebrated in the gardens of Canighul, decorated with innumerable tents and pavilions, which diſplayed the luxury of a great city and the ſpoils of a victorious camp. Whole foreſts were cut down to ſupply fuel for the kitchens; the plain was ſpread with pyramids of meat, and vaſes of every liquor, to which thouſands of gueſts were courteouſly invited: the orders of the ſtate, and the nations of the earth, were marſhalled at the royal banquet; nor were the ambaſſadors of Europe (ſays the haughty Perſian) excluded from the feaſt; ſince even the caſſes, the ſmalleſt of fiſh, find their place in the ocean[64]. The public joy was teſtified by illuminations and maſquerades; the trades of Samarcand paſſed in review; and every trade was emulous to execute ſome quaint device, ſome marvellous pageant, with the materials of their peculiar art. After the marriage-contracts had been ratified by the cadhis, the bridegrooms and their brides retired to the nuptial chambers; nine times, according to the Aſiatic faſhion, they were dreſſed and undreſſed; and at each change of apparel, pearls and rubies were ſhowered on their heads, and contemptuouſly abandoned to their attendants. A general indulgence was proclaimed: every law was relaxed, every pleaſure was allowed; the people was free, the ſovereign was idle; and the hiſtorian of Timour may remark, that, after devoting fifty years to the attainment of empire, the only happy period of his life were the two months in which he ceaſed to exerciſe his power. But he was ſoon awakened to the cares of government and war. The ſtandard was unfurled for the invaſion of China: the emirs made their report of two hundred thouſand, the ſelect and veteran ſoldiers of Iran and Touran: their baggage and proviſions were tranſported by five hundred great waggons, and an immenſe train of horſes and camels; and the troops might prepare for a long abſence, ſince more than ſix months were employed in the tran-

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[63] For the return, triumph, and death of Timour, ſee Sherefeddin (l. vi. c. 1—30.) and Arabſhah (tom. ii. c. 35—47.).

[64] Sherefeddin (l. vi. c. 24.) mentions the ambaſſadors of one of the moſt potent ſovereigns of Europe. We know that it was Henry III. king of Caſtile; and the curious relation of his two embaſſies is ſtill extant (Mariana, Hiſt. Hiſpan. l. xix. c. 11.

tom.

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tom. ii. p. 329, 330. Avertiſſement à l'Hiſt. de Timur Bec, p. 28—33.). There appears likewiſe to have been ſome correſpondence between the Mogul emperor, and the court of Charles VII. king of France (Hiſtoire de France, par Velly et Villaret, tom. xii. p. 336.).

quil journey of a caravan from Samarcand to Pekin. Neither age, nor the ſeverity of the winter, could retard the impatience of Timour; he mounted on horſeback, paſſed the Sihoon on the ice, marched ſeventy-ſix paraſangs, three hundred miles, from his capital, and pitched his laſt camp in the neighbourhood of Otrar, where he was expected by the angel of death. Fatigue, and the indiſcreet uſe of iced water, accelerated the progreſs of his fever; and the conqueror of Aſia expired in the ſeventieth year of his age, thirty-five years after he had aſcended the throne of Zagatai. His deſigns were loſt; his armies were diſbanded; China was ſaved, and fourteen years after his deceaſe, the moſt powerful of his children ſent an embaſſy of friendſhip and commerce to the court of Pekin[65].

His death on the road to China, A.D. 1405, April 1.

Character and portrait of Timour.

The fame of Timour has pervaded the Eaſt and Weſt; his poſterity is ſtill inveſted with the Imperial *title*; and the admiration of his ſubjects, who revered him almoſt as a deity, may be juſtified in ſome degree by the praiſe or confeſſion of his bittereſt enemies[66]. Although he was lame of an hand and foot, his form and ſtature were not unworthy of his rank; and his vigorous health, ſo eſſential to himſelf and to the world, was corroborated by temperance and exerciſe. In his familiar diſcourſe he was grave and modeſt, and if he was ignorant of the Arabic language, he ſpoke with fluency and elegance the Perſian and Turkiſh idioms. It was his delight to converſe with the learned on topics of hiſtory and ſcience; and the amuſement of his leiſure hours was the game of cheſs, which he improved or corrupted with new refinements[67]. In his religion, he was a zealous, though not perhaps an orthodox, Muſulman[68]; but his ſound underſtanding may tempt us to believe, that a ſuperſtitious reverence for omens and propheſies, for ſaints and aſtrologers, was only affected as an inſtrument of policy. In the government of a vaſt empire, he ſtood alone and abſolute, without a rebel to oppoſe his power, a favourite to ſeduce his affections, or a miniſter to miſlead his judgment. It was his firmeſt maxim, that whatever might be the conſequence, the word of the prince ſhould never be diſputed or recalled; but his foes have maliciouſly obſerved, that the commands of anger and deſtruction were more ſtrictly executed than thoſe of beneficence and favour. His ſons and grandſons, of whom Timour left ſix-and-thirty at his deceaſe, were his firſt and moſt ſubmiſſive ſubjects, and whenever they deviated from their duty, they were corrected, according to the laws of *Zingis*, with the baſtonade, and afterwards reſtored to honour and command. Perhaps his heart was not devoid of the ſocial virtues; perhaps he was not incapable of loving his friends and pardoning his enemies; but the rules of morality are founded on the public intereſt, and it may be ſufficient to applaud the wiſdom of a monarch, for the liberality by which he is not impoveriſhed, and for the juſtice by which he is ſtrengthened and enriched. To maintain the harmony of authority and obedience, to chaſtiſe the proud, to protect the weak, to reward the deſerving, to baniſh vice and idleneſs from his dominions, to ſecure the traveller and merchant, to reſtrain the depredations of the ſoldier, to cheriſh the labours of the huſbandman, to encourage induſtry and learning, and, by an equal and moderate aſſeſſment, to increaſe the revenue, without increaſing the taxes, are indeed the duties of a prince: but, in the diſcharge of theſe duties, he finds an ample and immediate recompenſe. Timour might boaſt, that, at his acceſſion to the throne, Aſia was the prey of anarchy and rapine, whilſt under his proſperous monarchy a child, fearleſs and unhurt, might carry a purſe of gold from the Eaſt to the Weſt. Such was his confidence of merit, that from this reformation he derived an excuſe for his victories, and a title to univerſal dominion. The four following obſervations will ſerve to appreciate his claim to the public gratitude; and perhaps we ſhall conclude, that the Mogul emperor was rather the ſcourge than the benefactor of mankind. 1. If ſome partial diſorders, ſome local oppreſſions, were healed by the ſword of Timour, the remedy was far more pernicious than the diſeaſe. By their rapine, cruelty, and diſcord, the petty tyrants of Perſia might afflict their ſubjects; but whole nations were cruſhed under the footſteps of the reformer. The ground which had been occupied by flouriſhing cities, was often marked by his abominable trophies, by columns, or pyramids, of human heads. Aſtracan, Carizme, Delhi, Iſpahan, Bagdad, Aleppo, Damaſcus, Bourſa, Smyrna, and a thouſand others, were ſacked, or burnt, or utterly deſtroyed, in his preſence, and by his troops; and perhaps his conſcience would have been ſtartled, if a prieſt or philoſopher had dared to number the millions of victims whom he had ſacrificed to the eſtabliſhment of peace and order[69]. 2. His moſt deſtructive wars were rather inroads than conqueſts. He invaded Turkeſtan, Kipzak, Ruſſia, Hindoſtan, Syria, Anatolia, Armenia, and Georgia, without a hope or a deſire of preſerving thoſe diſtant provinces. From thence he departed, laden with ſpoil; but he left behind him neither troops to awe the contumacious, nor magiſtrates to protect the obedient, natives. When he had broken the fabric of their ancient government, he abandoned them to the evils which his invaſion had aggravated or cauſed; nor were theſe evils compenſated by any preſent or poſſible benefits. 3. The kingdoms of Tranſoxiana and Perſia were the proper field which he laboured to cultivate and adorn, as the perpetual inheritance of his family. But his peaceful labours were often interrupted, and ſometimes blaſted, by the abſence of the conqueror. While he triumphed on the Volga or the Ganges, his ſervants, and even his ſons, forgot their maſter and their duty. The public and private injuries were poorly redreſſed by the tardy rigour of enquiry and puniſhment; and we muſt be content to praiſe the *Inſtitutions* of Timour, as the ſpecious idea of a perfect monarchy. 4. Whatſoever might be the bleſſings of his adminiſtration, they evaporated with his life. To reign, rather than to govern, was the ambition of his children and grandchildren [70]; the enemies of each other and of the people. A fragment of the empire was upheld with ſome glory by Sharokh his youngeſt ſon; but after his deceaſe, the ſcene was again involved in darkneſs and blood; and before the end of a century, Tranſoxiana and Perſia were trampled by the Uzbeks from the north, and the Turkmans of the black and white ſheep. The race of Timour would have been extinct, if an hero, his deſcendant in the fifth degree, had not

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[65] See the tranſlation of the Perſian account of their embaſſy, a curious and original piece (in the ivth part of the Relations de Thevenot). They preſented the emperor of China with an old horſe which Timour had formerly rode. It was in the year 1419, that they departed from the court of Herat, to which place they returned in 1422 from Pekin.

[66] From Arabſhah, tom. ii. c. 96. The bright or ſofter colours are borrowed from Sherefeddin, d'Herbelot, and the Inſtitutions.

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[67] His new ſyſtem was multiplied from 32 pieces and 64 ſquares, to 56 pieces and 110 or 130 ſquares. But, except in his court, the old game has been thought ſufficiently elaborate. The Mogul emperor was rather pleaſed than hurt, with the victory of a ſubject: a cheſs-player will feel the value of this encomium!

[68] See Sherefeddin, l. v. c. 15. 25. Arabſhah (tom. ii. c. 96. p. 801. 803.) reproves the impiety of Timour and the Moguls, who almoſt preferred to the Koran, the *Yacſa*, or Law of Zingis (cui Deus maledicat): nor will he believe that Sharokh had aboliſhed the uſe and authority of that Pagan code.

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[69] Beſides the bloody paſſages of this narrative, I muſt refer to an anticipation in the ſixth volume of the Decline and Fall, which, in a ſingle note (p. 50. Note 25.), accumulates near 300,000 heads of the monuments of his cruelty. Except in Rowe's play on the fifth of November, I did not expect to hear of Timour's amiable moderation (White's preface, p. 7.). Yet I can excuſe a generous enthuſiaſm in the reader, and ſtill more in the editor, of the Inſtitutions.

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[70] Conſult the laſt chapters of Sherefeddin and Arabſhah, and M. de Guignes (Hiſt. des Huns, tom. iv. l. xx.). Fraſer's Hiſtory of Nadir Shah, p. 1—62. The ſtory of Timour's deſcendants is imperfectly told; and the ſecond and third parts of Sherefeddin are unknown.

fled before the Uzbek arms to the conqueſt of Hindoſtan. His ſucceſſors (the great Moguls[71]) extended their ſway from the mountains of Caſhmir to Cape Comorin, and from Candahar to the gulf of Bengal. Since the reign of Aurungzebe, their empire has been diſſolved; their treaſures of Delhi have been rifled by a Perſian robber; and the richeſt of their kingdoms is now poſſeſſed by a company of Chriſtian merchants, of a remote iſland in the Northern ocean.

Civil wars of the ſons of Bajazet, A. D. 1403—1421.

Far different was the fate of the Ottoman monarchy. The maſſy trunk was bent to the ground, but no ſooner did the hurricane paſs away, than it again roſe with freſh vigour and more lively vegetation. When Timour, in every ſenſe, had evacuated Anatolia, he left the cities without a palace, a treaſure, or a king. The open country was overſpread with hords of ſhepherds and robbers of Tartar or Turkman origin; the recent conqueſts of Bajazet were reſtored to the emirs, one of whom, in baſe revenge, demoliſhed his ſepulchre; and his five ſons were eager, by civil diſcord, to conſume the remnant of their patrimony. I ſhall enumerate their names in the order of their age and actions[72]. 1. It is doubtful, whether I relate the ſtory of the true *Muſtapha*, or of an impoſtor, who perſonated that loſt

1. Muſtapha;

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[71] Shah Allum, the preſent Mogul, is in the fourteenth degree from Timour by Miran Shah, his third ſon. See the iid volume of Dow's Hiſtory of Hindoſtan.

[72] The civil wars, from the death of Bajazet to that of Muſtapha, are related, according to the Turks, by Demetrius Cantemir (p. 58—82.). Of the Greeks, Chalcondyles (l. iv. and v.), Phranza (l. i. c. 30—32.), and Ducas (c. 18—27.), the laſt is the moſt copious and beſt informed.

prince. He fought by his father's ſide in the battle of Angora: but when the captive ſultan was permitted to enquire for his children, Mouſa alone could be found; and the Turkiſh hiſtorians, the ſlaves of the triumphant faction, are perſuaded that his brother was confounded among the ſlain. If Muſtapha eſcaped from that diſaſtrous field, he was concealed twelve years from his friends and enemies; till he emerged in Theſſaly, and was hailed by a numerous party, as the ſon and ſucceſſor of Bajazet. His firſt defeat would have been his laſt, had not the true, or falſe, Muſtapha been ſaved by the Greeks, and reſtored, after the deceaſe of his brother Mahomet, to liberty and empire. A degenerate mind ſeemed to argue his ſpurious birth; and if, on the throne of Adrianople, he was adored as the Ottoman ſultan; his flight, his fetters, and an ignominious gibbet, delivered the impoſtor to popular contempt. A ſimilar character and claim was aſſerted by ſeveral rival pretenders; thirty perſons are ſaid to have ſuffered under the name of Muſtapha; and theſe frequent executions may perhaps inſinuate, that the Turkiſh court was not perfectly ſecure of the death of the lawful prince. 2. After his father's captivity, Iſa[73] reigned for ſome time in the neighbourhood of Angora, Sinope, and the Black Sea; and his ambaſſadors were diſmiſſed from the preſence of Timour with fair promiſes and honourable gifts. But their maſter was ſoon deprived of his province and life, by a jealous bro-

2. Iſa;

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[73] Arabſhah, tom. ii. c. 26. whoſe teſtimony on this occaſion is weighty and valuable. The exiſtence of Iſa (unknown to the Turks) is likewiſe confirmed by Sherefeddin (l. v. c. 57).

ther, the ſovereign of Amaſia; and the final event ſuggeſted a pious alluſion, that the law of Moſes and Jeſus, of *Iſa* and *Mouſa*, had been abrogated by the greater *Mahomet*. 3. *Soliman* is not numbered in the liſts of the Turkiſh emperors: yet he checked the victorious progreſs of the Moguls; and after their departure, united for a while the thrones of Adrianople and Bourſa. In war he was brave, active, and fortunate: his courage was ſoftened by clemency; but it was likewiſe inflamed by preſumption, and corrupted by intemperance and idleneſs. He relaxed the nerves of diſcipline, in a government where either the ſubject or the ſovereign muſt continually tremble: his vices alienated the chiefs of the army and the law; and his daily drunkenneſs, ſo contemptible in a prince and a man, was doubly odious in a diſciple of the prophet. In the ſlumber of intoxication, he was ſurpriſed by his brother Mouſa; and as he fled from Adrianople towards the Byzantine capital, Soliman was overtaken and ſlain in a bath, after a reign of ſeven years and ten months. 4. The inveſtiture of Mouſa degraded him as the ſlave of the Moguls: his tributary kingdom of Anatolia was confined within a narrow limit, nor could his broken militia and empty treaſury contend with the hardy and veteran bands of the ſovereign of Romania. Mouſa fled in diſguiſe from the palace of Bourſa; traverſed the Propontis in an open boat; wandered over the Walachian and Servian hills; and after ſome vain attempts, aſcended the throne of Adrianople, ſo recently ſtained with the blood of Soliman.

3. Soliman, A. D. 1403—1410.

4. Mouſa, A. D. 1410.

In a reign of three years and a half, his troops were victorious againſt the Chriſtians of Hungary and the Morea; but Mouſa was ruined by his timorous diſpoſition and unſeaſonable clemency. After reſigning the ſovereignty of Anatolia, he fell a victim to the perfidy of his miniſters, and the ſuperior aſcendant of his brother Mahomet.

r. Mahomet I. A.D. 1413–1421.

5. The final victory of Mahomet was the juſt recompenſe of his prudence and moderation. Before his father's captivity, the royal youth had been entruſted with the government of Amaſia, thirty days journey from Conſtantinople, and the Turkiſh frontier againſt the Chriſtians of Trebizond and Georgia. The caſtle, in Aſiatic warfare, was eſteemed impregnable; and the city of Amaſia[24], which is equally divided by the river Iris, riſes on either ſide in the form of an amphitheatre, and repreſents on a ſmaller ſcale the image of Bagdad. In his rapid career, Timour appears to have overlooked this obſcure and contumacious angle of Anatolia; and Mahomet, without provoking the conqueror, maintained his ſilent independence, and chaſed from the province the laſt ſtragglers of the Tartar hoſt. He relieved himſelf from the dangerous neighbourhood of Iſa; but in the conteſts of their more powerful brethren, his firm neutrality was reſpected; till, after the triumph of Mouſa, he ſtood forth the heir and avenger of the unfortunate Soliman. Mahomet obtained Anatolia by treaty, and Romania by arms; and the ſoldier who preſented him

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[24] Arabſhah, loc. citat. Abulfeda, Geograph. tab. xvii. p. 302. Buſbequius, epiſt. i. p. 96, 97. in Itinere C. P. et Amaſiano.

with the head of Mouſa, was rewarded as the benefactor of his king and country. The eight years of his ſole and peaceful reign were uſefully employed in baniſhing the vices of civil diſcord, and reſtoring on a firmer baſis the fabric of the Ottoman monarchy. His laſt care was the choice of two vizirs, Bajazet and Ibrahim[75], who might guide the youth of his ſon Amurath; and ſuch was their union and prudence, that they concealed above forty days the emperor's death, till the arrival of his ſucceſſor in the palace of Bourſa. A new war was kindled in Europe by the prince, or impoſtor, Muſtapha; the firſt vizir loſt his army and his head; but the more fortunate Ibrahim, whoſe name and family are ſtill revered, extinguiſhed the laſt pretender to the throne of Bajazet, and cloſed the ſcene of domeſtic hoſtility.

Reign of Amurath II. A. D. 1421—1451, Feb. 9.

In theſe conflicts, the wiſeſt Turks, and indeed the body of the nation, were ſtrongly attached to the unity of the empire; and Romania and Anatolia, ſo often torn aſunder by private ambition, were animated by a ſtrong and invincible tendency of coheſion. Their efforts might have inſtructed the Chriſtian powers; and had they occupied with a confederate fleet, the ſtreights of Gallipoli, the Ottomans, at leaſt in Europe, muſt have been ſpeedily annihilated. But the ſchiſm of the Weſt, and the factions and wars of France and England, diverted the Latins from this generous enterpriſe:

Re-union of the Ottoman empire, A. D. 1421.

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[75] The virtues of Ibrahim are praiſed by a contemporary Greek (Ducas, c. 25.). His deſcendants are the ſole nobles in Turkey: they content themſelves with the adminiſtration of his pious foundations, are excuſed from public offices, and receive two annual viſits from the ſultan (Cantemir, p. 76.).

they enjoyed the preſent reſpite, without a thought of futurity; and were often tempted by a momentary intereſt to ſerve the common enemy of their religion. A colony of Genoeſe[76], which had been planted at Phocæa[77] on the Ionian coaſt, was enriched by the lucrative monopoly of alum[78]; and their tranquillity, under the Turkiſh empire, was ſecured by the annual payment of tribute. In the laſt civil war of the Ottomans, the Genoeſe governor, Adorno, a bold and ambitious youth, embraced the party of Amurath: and undertook with ſeven ſtout gallies to tranſport him from Aſia to Europe. The ſultan and five hundred guards embarked on board the admiral's ſhip; which was manned by eight hundred of the braveſt Franks. His life and liberty were in their hands; nor can we, without reluctance, applaud the fidelity of Adorno, who, in the midſt of the paſſage, knelt before him, and gratefully accepted a diſcharge of his arrears of tribute.

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[76] See Pachymer (l. v. c. 29.), Nicephorus Gregoras (l. ii. c. 1.), Shereteddin (l. v. c. 57.), and Ducas (c. 25.). The laſt of theſe, a curious and careful obſerver, is entitled, from his birth and ſtation, to particular credit in all that concerns Ionia and the iſlands. Among the nations that reſorted to New Phocæa, he mentions the Engliſh (Ἰγγλῆνοι); an early evidence of Mediterranean trade.

[77] For the ſpirit of navigation, and freedom of ancient Phocæa, or rather of the Phocæans, conſult the 1st book of Herodotus, and the Geographical Index of his laſt and learned French tranſlator, M. Larcher (tom. vii. p. 299.).

[78] Phocæa is not enumerated by Pliny (Hiſt. Nat. xxxv. 52.) among the places productive of alum; he reckons Egypt as the firſt, and for the ſecond the iſle of Melos, whoſe alum mines are deſcribed by Tournefort (tom. i. lettre iv.), a traveller and a naturaliſt. After the loſs of Phocæa, the Genoeſe, in 1459, found that uſeful mineral in the iſle of Iſchia (Iſmael. Bouillaud, ad Ducam, c. 25.).

They landed in ſight of Muſtapha and Gallipoli; two thouſand Italians, armed with lances and battle-axes, attended Amurath to the conqueſt of Adrianople; and this venal ſervice was ſoon repaid by the ruin of the commerce and colony of Phocæa.

State of the Greek empire, A. D. 1402—1425.

If Timour had generouſly marched at the requeſt, and to the relief, of the Greek emperor, he might be entitled to the praiſe and gratitude of the Chriſtians [79]. But a Muſulman, who carried into Georgia the ſword of perſecution, and reſpected the holy warfare of Bajazet, was not diſpoſed to pity or ſuccour the *idolaters* of Europe. The Tartar followed the impulſe of ambition; and the deliverance of Conſtantinople was the accidental conſequence. When Manuel abdicated the government, it was his prayer, rather than his hope, that the ruin of the church and ſtate might be delayed beyond his unhappy days; and after his return from a weſtern pilgrimage, he expected every hour the news of the ſad cataſtrophe. On a ſudden he was aſtoniſhed and rejoiced by the intelligence of the retreat, the overthrow, and the captivity of the Ottoman. Manuel [80] immediately ſailed from Modon in the Morea; aſcended the throne of Conſtantinople; and diſmiſſed his blind competitor to an eaſy exile in the iſle of Leſbos. The ambaſſadors of the ſon of Bajazet were ſoon introduced to his preſence; but their pride was fallen, their tone was modeſt; they were awed by the juſt apprehenſion, leſt the Greeks ſhould open to the Moguls the gates of Europe. Soliman ſaluted the emperor by the name of father; ſolicited at his hands the government or gift of Romania; and promiſed to deſerve his favour by inviolable friendſhip, and the reſtitution of Theſſalonica, with the moſt important places along the Strymon, the Propontis, and the Black Sea. The alliance of Soliman expoſed the emperor to the enmity and revenge of Mouſa: the Turks appeared in arms before the gates of Conſtantinople; but they were repulſed by ſea and land; and unleſs the city was guarded by ſome foreign mercenaries, the Greeks muſt have wondered at their own triumph. But, inſtead of prolonging the diviſion of the Ottoman powers, the policy or paſſion of Manuel was tempted to aſſiſt the moſt formidable of the ſons of Bajazet. He concluded a treaty with Mahomet, whoſe progreſs was checked by the inſuperable barrier of Gallipoli: the ſultan and his troops were tranſported over the Boſphorus; he was hoſpitably entertained in the capital; and his ſucceſsful ſally was the firſt ſtep to the conqueſt of Romania. The ruin was ſuſpended by the prudence and moderation of the conqueror: he faithfully diſcharged his own obligations

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[79] The writer who has the moſt abuſed this fabulous generoſity, is our ingenious Sir William Temple (his works, vol. iii p. 349, 350. octavo edition), that lover of exotic virtue. After the conqueſt of Ruſſia, &c. and the paſſage of the Danube, his Tartar hero relieves, viſits, admires, and refuſes the city of Conſtantine. His flattering pencil deviates in every line from the truth of hiſtory: yet his pleaſing fictions are more excuſable than the groſs errors of Cantemir.

[80] For the reigus of Manuel and John, of Mahomet I. and Amurath II. ſee the Othman hiſtory of Cantemir (p. 70—95.), and the three Greeks, Chalcondyles, Phranza, and Ducas, who is ſtill ſuperior to his rivals.

obligations and thoſe of Soliman, reſpected the laws of gratitude and peace; and left the emperor guardian of his two younger ſons, in the vain hope of ſaving them from the jealous cruelty of their brother Amurath. But the execution of his laſt teſtament would have offended the national honour and religion: and the divan unanimouſly pronounced, that the royal youths ſhould never be abandoned to the cuſtody and education of a Chriſtian dog. On this refuſal, the Byzantine councils were divided: but the age and caution of Manuel yielded to the preſumption of his ſon John; and they unſheathed a dangerous weapon of revenge, by diſmiſſing the true or falſe Muſtapha, who had long been detained as a captive and hoſtage, and for whoſe maintenance they received an annual penſion of three hundred thouſand aſpers[81]. At the door of his priſon, Muſtapha ſubſcribed to every propoſal; and the keys of Gallipoli, or rather of Europe, were ſtipulated as the price of his deliverance. But no ſooner was he ſeated on the throne of Romania, than he diſmiſſed the Greek ambaſſadors with a ſmile of contempt, declaring, in a pious tone, that, at the day of judgment, he would rather anſwer for the violation of an oath, than for the ſurrender of a Muſulman city into the hands of the infidels. The emperor was at once the enemy of the two rivals; from whom he had ſuſtained, and to whom he had offered, an injury; and the victory of Amurath was followed, in the enſuing ſpring, by the ſiege of Conſtantinople[82].

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[81] The Turkiſh aſper (from the Greek [illegible]) is, or was, a piece of *white* or ſilver money, at preſent much debaſed, but which was formerly equivalent to the 54th part, at leaſt, of a Venetian ducat or ſequin; and the 300,000 aſpers, a princely allowance or royal tribute, may be computed at 2500 l. ſterling (Leunclav. Pandect. Turc. p. 406—408.).

Siege of Conſtantinople by Amurath II. A. D. 1422. June 10—Auguſt 24.

The religious merit of ſubduing the city of the Cæſars, attracted from Aſia a crowd of volunteers, who aſpired to the crown of martyrdom: their military ardour was inflamed by the promiſe of rich ſpoils and beautiful females; and the ſultan's ambition was conſecrated by the preſence and prediction of Seid Bechar, a deſcendant of the prophet[83], who arrived in the camp, on a mule, with a venerable train of five hundred diſciples. But he might bluſh, if a fanatic could bluſh, at the failure of his aſſurances. The ſtrength of the walls reſiſted an army of two hundred thouſand Turks: their aſſaults were repelled by the ſallies of the Greeks and their foreign mercenaries; the old reſources of defence were oppoſed to the new engines of attack; and the enthuſiaſm of the derviſh, who was ſnatched to heaven in viſionary converſe with Mahomet, was anſwered by the credulity of the Chriſtians, who *beheld* the Virgin Mary, in a violet garment, walking on the rampart and animating their courage[84]. After a ſiege of two months, Amurath was recalled to Bourſa by a domeſtic revolt, which had been kindled by Greek treachery, and was ſoon extinguiſhed by the death of a guiltleſs brother. While he led his Janizaries to new conqueſts in Europe and Aſia, the Byzantine empire was indulged in a ſervile and precarious reſpite of thirty years. Manuel ſunk into the grave; and John Palæologus was permitted to reign, for an annual tribute of three hundred thouſand aſpers, and the dereliction of almoſt all that he held beyond the ſuburbs of Conſtantinople.

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[82] For the ſiege of Conſtantinople in 1422, ſee the particular and contemporary narrative of John Cananus, publiſhed by Leo Allatius, at the end of his edition of Acropolita (p. 188—199.).

[83] Cantemir, p. 80. Cananus, who deſcribes Seid Bechar without naming him, ſuppoſes that the friend of Mahomet aſſumed in his amours the privilege of a prophet, and that the faireſt of the Greek nuns were promiſed to the ſaint and his diſciples.

[84] For this miraculous apparition, Cananus appeals to the Muſſulman ſaint; but who will bear teſtimony for Seid Bechar?

The emperor John Palæologus I. A. D. 1425, July 21— A. D. 1448, October 31.

In the eſtabliſhment and reſtoration of the Turkiſh empire, the firſt merit muſt doubtleſs be aſſigned to the perſonal qualities of the ſultans; ſince, in human life, the moſt important ſcenes will depend on the character of a ſingle actor. By ſome ſhades of wiſdom and virtue, they may be diſcriminated from each other; but, except in a ſingle inſtance, a period of nine reigns and two hundred and ſixty-five years is occupied, from the elevation of Othman to the death of Soliman, by a rare ſeries of warlike and active princes, who impreſſed their ſubjects with obedience and their enemies with terror. Inſtead of the ſlothful luxury of the ſeraglio, the heirs of royalty were educated in the council and the field: from early youth they were entruſted by their fathers with the command of provinces and armies; and this manly inſtitution, which was often productive of civil war, muſt have eſſentially contributed to the diſcipline and vigour of the monarchy. The Ottomans cannot ſtyle themſelves, like the Arabian caliphs, the deſcendants or ſucceſſors of the apoſtle of God; and the kindred

Hereditary ſucceſſion and merit of the Ottomans.

kindred which they claim with the Tartar khans of the houſe of Zingis, appears to be founded in flattery rather than in truth[85]. Their origin is obſcure; but their ſacred and indefeaſible right, which no time can eraſe and no violence can infringe, was ſoon and unalterably implanted in the minds of their ſubjects. A weak or vicious ſultan may be depoſed and ſtrangled; but his inheritance devolves to an infant or an ideot: nor has the moſt daring rebel preſumed to aſcend the throne of his lawful ſovereign[86]. While the tranſient dynaſties of Aſia have been continually ſubverted by a crafty vizir in the palace or a victorious general in the camp, the Ottoman ſucceſſion has been confirmed by the practice of five centuries, and is now incorporated with the vital principle of the Turkiſh nation.

Education and diſcipline of the Turks.

To the ſpirit and conſtitution of that nation, a ſtrong and ſingular influence may however be aſcribed. The primitive ſubjects of Othman were the four hundred families of wandering Turkmans, who had followed his anceſtors from the Oxus to the Sangar; and the plains of Anatolia are ſtill covered with the white and black tents of their ruſtic brethren. But this original drop was diſſolved in the maſs of voluntary and vanquiſhed ſubjects, who, under the name of Turks, are united by the common ties of religion, language, and manners. In the cities, from Erzeroum to Belgrade, that national appellation is common to all the Moſlems, the firſt and moſt honourable inhabitants; but they have abandoned, at leaſt in Romania, the villages, and the cultivation of the land, to the Chriſtian peaſants. In the vigorous age of the Ottoman government, the Turks were themſelves excluded from all civil and military honours; and a ſervile claſs, an artificial people, was raiſed by the diſcipline of education to obey, to conquer, and to command[87]. From the time of Orchan and the firſt Amurath, the ſultans were perſuaded that a government of the ſword muſt be renewed in each generation with new ſoldiers; and that ſuch ſoldiers muſt be ſought, not in effeminate Aſia, but among the hardy and warlike natives of Europe. The provinces of Thrace, Macedonia, Albania, Bulgaria, and Servia, became the perpetual ſeminary of the Turkiſh army; and when the royal fifth of the captives was diminiſhed by conqueſt, an inhuman tax, of the fifth child, or of every fifth year, was rigorouſly levied on the Chriſtian families. At the age of twelve or fourteen years, the moſt robuſt youths were torn from their parents; their names were enrolled in a book; and from that moment they were clothed, taught, and maintained, for the public ſervice. According to the promiſe of their appearance, they were ſelected for the royal ſchools of Bourſa, Pera, and Adrianople, entruſted to the care of the baſhaws, or diſperſed in the houſes of the Anatolian peaſantry. It was the firſt care of their maſters to inſtruct them in the Turkiſh language: their bodies were exerciſed by every labour that could fortify their ſtrength; they learned to wreſtle, to leap, to run, to ſhoot with the bow, and afterwards with the muſket; till they were drafted into the chambers and companies of the Janizaries, and ſeverely trained in the military or monaſtic diſcipline of the order. The youths moſt conſpicuous for birth, talents, and beauty, were admitted into the inferior claſs of *Agiamoglans*, or the more liberal rank of *Ichoglans*, of whom the former were attached to the palace, and the latter to the perſon of the prince. In four ſucceſſive ſchools, under the rod of the white eunuchs, the arts of horſemanſhip and of darting the javelin were their daily exerciſe, while thoſe of a more ſtudious caſt applied themſelves to the ſtudy of the Koran, and the knowledge of the Arabic and Perſian tongues. As they advanced in ſeniority and merit, they were gradually diſmiſſed to military, civil, and even eccleſiaſtical employments: the longer their ſtay, the higher was their expectation; till, at a mature period, they were admitted into the number of the forty agas, who ſtood before the ſultan, and were promoted by his choice to the government of provinces and the firſt honours of the empire.

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[85] See Rycaut (l. i. c. 13.). The Turkiſh ſultans aſſume the title of khan. Yet Abulghazi is ignorant of his Ottoman couſins.

[86] The third grand vizir of the name of Kiuperli, who was ſlain at the battle of Salankanen in 1691 (Cantemir, p. 382), preſumed to ſay, that all the ſucceſſors of Soliman had been fools or tyrants, and that it was time to aboliſh the race (Marſigli Stato Militare, &c. p. 28.). This political heretic was a good whig, and juſtified againſt the French ambaſſador the revolution of England (Mignot, Hiſt. des Ottomans, tom. iii. p. 434.). His preſumption condemns the ſingular exception of continuing offices in the ſame family.

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[87] Chalcondyles (l. v.) and Ducas (c. 23.) exhibit the rude lineaments of the Ottoman policy, and the tranſmutation of Chriſtian children into Turkiſh ſoldiers.

empire[88]. Such a mode of inſtitution was admirably adapted to the form and ſpirit of a deſpotic monarchy. The miniſters and generals were, in the ſtricteſt ſenſe, the ſlaves of the emperor, to whoſe bounty they were indebted for their inſtruction and ſupport. When they left the ſeraglio, and ſuffered their beards to grow as the ſymbol of enfranchiſement, they found themſelves in an important office, without faction or friendſhip, without parents and without heirs, dependent on the hand which had raiſed them from the duſt, and which, on the ſlighteſt diſpleaſure, could break in pieces theſe ſtatues of glaſs, as they are aptly termed by the Turkiſh proverb[89]. In the ſlow and painful ſteps of education, their character and talents were unfolded to a diſcerning eye: the *man*, naked and alone, was reduced to the ſtandard of his perſonal merit; and, if the ſovereign had wiſdom to chuſe, he poſſeſſed a pure and boundleſs liberty of choice. The Ottoman candidates were trained by the virtues of abſtinence to thoſe of action; by the habits of ſubmiſſion to thoſe of command. A ſimilar ſpirit was diffuſed among the troops; and their ſilence and ſobriety, their patience and modeſty, have extorted the reluctant praiſe of their Chriſtian enemies[90]. Nor can the victory appear doubtful, if we compare the diſcipline and exerciſe of the Janizaries with the pride of birth, the independence of chivalry, the ignorance of the new levies, the mutinous temper of the veterans, and the vices of intemperance and diſorder, which ſo long contaminated the armies of Europe.

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[88] This ſketch of the Turkiſh education and diſcipline, is chiefly borrowed from Ricaut's State of the Ottoman empire, the Stato Militare del' Imperio Ottomanno of Count Marſigli (in Haya, 1732, in folio), and a Deſcription of the Seraglio, approved by Mr. Greaves himſelf, a curious traveller, and inſerted in the ſecond volume of his works.

[89] From the ſeries of cxv vizirs till the ſiege of Vienna (Marſigli, p. 13.), their place may be valued at three years and a half purchaſe.

Invention and uſe of gunpowder.

The only hope of ſalvation for the Greek empire and the adjacent kingdoms, would have been ſome more powerful weapon, ſome diſcovery in the art of war, that ſhould give them a deciſive ſuperiority over their Turkiſh foes. Such a weapon was in their hands; ſuch a diſcovery had been made in the critical moment of their fate. The chymiſts of China or Europe had found, by caſual or elaborate experiments, that a mixture of ſalt-petre, ſulphur, and charcoal, produces, with a ſpark of fire, a tremendous exploſion. It was ſoon obſerved, that if the expanſive force were compreſſed in a ſtrong tube, a ball of ſtone or iron might be expelled with irreſiſtible and deſtructive velocity. The preciſe æra of the invention and application of gunpowder[91] is involved in doubtful traditions and equivocal language; yet we may clearly diſcern, that it was known before the middle of the fourteenth century; and that before the end of the ſame, the uſe of artillery in battles and ſieges, by ſea and land, was familiar to the ſtates of Germany, Italy, Spain, France, and England[92]. The priority of nations is of ſmall account; none could derive any excluſive benefit from their previous or ſuperior knowledge; and in the common improvement they ſtood on the ſame level of relative power and military ſcience. Nor was it poſſible to circumſcribe the ſecret within the pale of the church; it was diſcloſed to the Turks by the treachery of apoſtates and the ſelfiſh policy of rivals; and the ſultans had ſenſe to adopt, and wealth to reward, the talents of a Chriſtian engineer. The Genoeſe, who tranſported Amurath into Europe, muſt be accuſed as his preceptors; and it was probably by their hands that his cannon was caſt and directed at the ſiege of Conſtantinople[93]. The firſt attempt was indeed unſucceſsful; but in the general warfare of the age, the advantage was on *their* ſide, who were moſt commonly the aſſailants; for a while the proportion of the attack and defence was ſuſpended; and this thundering artillery was pointed againſt the walls and towers which had been erected only to reſiſt the leſs potent engines of antiquity. By the Venetians, the uſe of gunpowder was communicated without reproach to the ſultans of Egypt and Perſia, their allies againſt the Ottoman power; the ſecret was ſoon propagated to the extremities of Aſia; and the advantage of the European was confined to his eaſy victories over the ſavages of the new world. If we contraſt the rapid progreſs of this miſchievous diſcovery with the ſlow and laborious advances of reaſon, ſcience, and the arts of peace, a philoſopher, according to his temper, will laugh or weep at the folly of mankind.

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[90] See the entertaining and judicious letters of Buſbequius.

[91] The 1ſt and 4th volumes of Dr. Watſon's Chemical Eſſays, contain two valuable diſcourſes on the diſcovery and compoſition of gunpowder.

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[92] On this ſubject, modern teſtimonies cannot be truſted. The original paſſages are collected by Ducange (Gloſſ. Latin. tom. i. p. 675. *Bombarda.*). But in the early doubtful twilight, the name, ſound, fire, and effect, that ſeem to expreſs *our* artillery, may be fairly interpreted of the old engines and the Greek fire. For the Engliſh cannon at Crecy, the authority of John Villani (Chron. l. xii. c. 65.), muſt be weighed againſt the ſilence of Froiſſard. Yet Muratori (Antiquit. Italiæ medii Ævi, tom. ii. Diſſert. xxvi. p. 514, 515.) has produced a deciſive paſſage from Petrarch (de Remediis utriuſque Fortunæ Dialog.), who, before the year 1344, execrates this terreſtrial thunder, *nuper* rara, *nunc* communis.

[93] The Turkiſh cannon, which Ducas (c. 30.) firſt introduc before Belgrade (A. D. 1436), is mentioned by Chalcondyles (l. p. 123.) in 1422, at the ſiege of Conſtantinople.

CHAP. LXVI.

Applications of the Eaſtern Emperors to the Popes.—Viſits to the Weſt, of John the Firſt, Manuel, and John the Second, Palæologus.—Union of the Greek and Latin Churches, promoted by the Council of Baſil, and concluded at Ferrara and Florence.—State of Literature at Conſtantinople.—Its Revival in Italy by the Greek Fugitives.—Curioſity and Emulation of the Latins.

CHAP. LXVI.

Embaſſy of the younger Andronicus to pope Benedict XII. A.D. 1339.

IN the four laſt centuries of the Greek emperors, their friendly or hoſtile aſpect towards the pope and the Latins, may be obſerved as the thermometer of their proſperity or diſtreſs; as the ſcale of the riſe and fall of the Barbarian dynaſties. When the Turks of the houſe of Seljuk pervaded Aſia and threatened Conſtantinople, we have ſeen at the council of Placentia, the ſuppliant ambaſſadors of Alexius, imploring the protection of the common father of the Chriſtians. No ſooner had the arms of the French pilgrims removed the ſultan from Nice to Iconium, than the Greek princes reſumed, or avowed, their genuine hatred and contempt for the ſchiſmatics of the Weſt, which precipitated the firſt downfal of their empire. The date of the Mogul invaſion is marked in the ſoft and charitable language of John Vataces. After the recovery of Conſtantinople, the throne of the firſt Palæologus was encompaſſed by foreign and domeſtic enemies; as long as the ſword of Charles was ſuſpended over his head, he baſely courted the favour of the Roman pontiff; and ſacrificed to the preſent danger, his faith, his virtue, and the affection of his ſubjects. On the deceaſe of Michael, the prince and people aſſerted the independence of the church and the purity of their creed: the elder Andronicus neither feared nor loved the Latins; in his laſt diſtreſs, pride was the ſafeguard of ſuperſtition, nor could he decently retract in his age the firm and orthodox declarations of his youth. His grandſon, the younger Andronicus, was leſs a ſlave in his temper and ſituation; and the conqueſt of Bithynia by the Turks, admoniſhed him to ſeek a temporal and ſpiritual alliance with the weſtern princes. After a ſeparation and ſilence of fifty years, a ſecret agent, the monk Barlaam, was diſpatched to pope Benedict the twelfth; and his artful inſtructions appear to have been drawn by the maſter-hand of the great domeſtic[1]. "Moſt holy father," was he commiſſioned to ſay, "the emperor is not leſs "deſirous than yourſelf of an union between the "two churches: but in this delicate tranſaction, "he is obliged to reſpect his own dignity and "the prejudices of his ſubjects. The ways of

The arguments for a cruſade and union.

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[1] This curious inſtruction was tranſcribed (I believe) from the Vatican archives, by Odoricus Raynaldus, in his continuation of the Annals of Baronius (Romæ, 1646—1677, in x volumes in folio). I have contented myſelf with the Abbé Fleury (Hiſt. Eccléſiaſtique, tom. xx. p. 1—8.), whoſe abſtracts I have always found to be clear, accurate, and impartial.

" union are two-fold; force, and perſuaſion. Of " force, the inefficacy has been already tried; " ſince the Latins have ſubdued the empire, without ſubduing the minds, of the Greeks. The " method of perſuaſion, though ſlow, is ſure and " permanent. A deputation of thirty or forty of " our doctors would probably agree with thoſe of " the Vatican, in the love of truth and the unity of " belief: but on their return, what would be the " uſe, the recompenſe of ſuch agreement? the " ſcorn of their brethren, and the reproaches of a " blind and obſtinate nation. Yet that nation is " accuſtomed to reverence the general councils, " which have fixed the articles of our faith; and " if they reprobate the decrees of Lyons, it is becauſe the Eaſtern churches were neither heard " nor repreſented in that arbitrary meeting. For " this ſalutary end, it will be expedient, and even " neceſſary, that a well-choſen legate ſhould be " ſent into Greece, to convene the patriarchs of " Conſtantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jeruſalem; and, with their aid, to prepare a free " and univerſal ſynod. But at this moment," continued the ſubtle agent, " the empire is aſſaulted and endangered by the Turks, who have " occupied four of the greateſt cities in Anatolia. " The Chriſtian inhabitants have expreſſed a wiſh " of returning to their allegiance and religion; " but the forces and revenues of the emperor are " inſufficient for their deliverance: and the Roman legate muſt be accompanied, or preceded, " by an army of Franks, to expel the infidels, and " open a way to the holy ſepulchre." If the

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ſuſpicious Latins ſhould require ſome pledge, ſome previous effect of the ſincerity of the Greeks, the anſwers of Barlaam were perſpicuous and rational.
“ 1. A general ſynod can alone conſummate the
“ union of the churches; nor can ſuch a ſynod
“ be held till the three Oriental patriarchs, and a
“ great number of biſhops, are enfranchiſed from
“ the Mahometan yoke. 2. The Greeks are
“ alienated by a long ſeries of oppreſſion and injury:
“ they muſt be reconciled by ſome act of
“ brotherly love, ſome effectual ſuccour, which
“ may fortify the authority and arguments of the
“ emperor, and the friends of the union. 3. If
“ ſome difference of faith or ceremonies ſhould
“ be found incurable, the Greeks however are
“ the diſciples of Chriſt; and the Turks are the
“ common enemies of the Chriſtian name. The
“ Armenians, Cyprians, and Rhodians, are equally
“ attacked; and it will become the piety of the
“ French princes to draw their ſwords in the general
“ defence of religion. 4. Should the ſubjects
“ of Andronicus be treated as the worſt of
“ ſchiſmatics, of heretics, of pagans, a judicious
“ policy may yet inſtruct the powers of the Weſt
“ to embrace an uſeful ally, to uphold a ſinking
“ empire, to guard the confines of Europe, and
“ rather to join the Greeks againſt the Turks, than
“ to expect the union of the Turkiſh arms with the
“ troops and treaſures of captive Greece.” The
reaſons, the offers, and the demands of Andronicus, were eluded with cold and ſtately indifference.
[illegible]
[illegible]

to call a new ſynod to determine old articles of faith: and his regard for the obſolete claims of the Latin emperor and clergy, engaged him to uſe an offenſive ſuperſcription: "To the *moderator*[2] of the Greeks, and the perſons who "ſtyle themſelves the patriarchs of the Eaſtern "churches." For ſuch an embaſſy, a time and character leſs propitious could not eaſily have been found. Benedict the twelfth[3] was a dull peaſant, perplexed with ſcruples, and immerſed in ſloth and wine: his pride might enrich with a third crown the papal tiara, but he was alike unfit for the regal and the paſtoral office.

Negociation of Cantacuzene with Clement VI. A.D. 1348.

After the deceaſe of Andronicus, while the Greeks were diſtracted by inteſtine war, they could not preſume to agitate a general union of the Chriſtians. But as ſoon as Cantacuzene had ſubdued and pardoned his enemies, he was anxious to juſtify, or at leaſt to extenuate, the introduction of the Turks into Europe, and the nuptials of his daughter with a Muſulman prince.

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[2] The ambiguity of this title is happy or ingenious; and *moderator*, as ſynonymous to *rector*, *gubernator*, is a word of claſſical, and even Ciceronian, Latinity, which may be found, not in the Gloſſary of Ducange, but in the Theſaurus of Robert Stephens.

[3] The firſt epiſtle (ſine titulo) of Petrarch, expoſes the danger of the *bark*, and the incapacity of the *pilot*. Hæc inter, vino madidus, ævo gravis, ac ſoporifero rore perfuſus, jamjam nutitat, dormitat, jam ſomno præceps, atque (utinam ſolus) ruit . . . . Heu quanto felicius patrio terram ſulcaſſet aratro, quam ſcalmum piſcatorium aſcendiſſet. This ſatire engages his biographer to weigh the virtues and vices of Benedict XII. which have been exaggerated by Guelphs and Ghibelines, by Papiſts and Proteſtants (ſee Mémoires ſur la Vie de Pétrarque, tom. i. p. 259. ii. not. xv. p. 13—16.). He gave occaſion to the ſaying, Bibamus papaliter.

Two officers of ſtate, with a Latin interpreter, were ſent in his name to the Roman court, which was tranſplanted to Avignon, on the banks of the Rhone, during a period of ſeventy years; they repreſented the hard neceſſity which had urged him to embrace the alliance of the miſcreants, and pronounced by his command the ſpecious and edifying ſounds of union and cruſade. Pope Clement the ſixth [4], the ſucceſſor of Benedict, received them with hoſpitality and honour, acknowledged the innocence of their ſovereign, excuſed his diſtreſs, applauded his magnanimity, and diſplayed a clear knowledge of the ſtate and revolutions of the Greek empire, which he had imbibed from the honeſt accounts of a Savoyard lady, an attendant of the empreſs Anne [5]. If Clement was ill-endowed with the virtues of a prieſt, he poſſeſſed however the ſpirit and magnificence of a prince, whoſe liberal hand diſtributed benefices and kingdoms with equal facility. Under his reign, Avignon was the ſeat of pomp and pleaſure: in his youth he had ſurpaſſed the licentiouſneſs of a baron; and the palace, nay, the bed-chamber of the pope, was adorned, or polluted, by the viſits of his female favourites. The wars of France and England were adverſe to the holy enterpriſe; but his vanity was amuſed by the ſplendid idea; and the Greek ambaſſadors returned with two Latin biſhops, the miniſters of the pontiff. On their arrival at Conſtantinople, the emperor and the nuncios admired each other's piety and eloquence: and their frequent conferences were filled with mutual praiſes and promiſes, by which both parties were amuſed, and neither could be deceived. "I am delighted," ſaid the devout Cantacuzene, "with the project "of our holy war, which muſt redound to my "perſonal glory, as well as to the public benefit "of Chriſtendom. My dominions will give a "free paſſage to the armies of France: my troops, "my gallies, my treaſures, ſhall be conſecrated "to the common cauſe; and happy would be "my fate, could I deſerve and obtain the crown "of martyrdom. Words are inſufficient to ex- "preſs the ardour with which I ſigh for the re- "union of the ſcattered members of Chriſt. If "my death could avail, I would gladly preſent "my ſword and my neck: if the ſpiritual phœnix "could ariſe from my aſhes, I would erect the "pile and kindle the flame with my own hands." Yet the Greek emperor preſumed to obſerve, that the articles of faith which divided the two churches had been introduced by the pride and precipitation of the Latins: he diſclaimed the ſervile and arbitrary ſteps of the firſt Palæologus; and firmly declared, that he would never ſubmit his conſcience, unleſs to the decrees of a free and universal ſynod. "The ſituation of the times," continued he, "will not allow the pope and myſelf to meet either at Rome or Conſtantinople; but ſome maritime city may be choſen on the verge of the two empires, to unite the biſhops, and to inſtruct the faithful, of the Eaſt and Weſt." The nuncios ſeemed content with the propoſition; and Cantacuzene affects to deplore the failure of his hopes, which were ſoon overthrown by the death of Clement, and the different temper of his ſucceſſor. His own life was prolonged, but it was prolonged in a cloiſter; and, except by his prayers, the humble monk was incapable of directing the counſels of his pupil or the ſtate[6].

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[4] See the original lives of Clement VI. in Muratori (Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. iii. P. ii. p. 550—589.); Matteo Villani (Chron. l. iii. c. 43. in Muratori, tom. xiv. p. 186.), who ſtyles him, molto cavalleresco, poco religioſo; Fleury (Hiſt. Eccleſ. tom. xx. p. 126.), and the Vie de Petrarque (tom. ii. p. 42—45.). The abbé de Sade treats him with the moſt indulgence; but he is a gentleman as well as a prieſt.

[5] Her name (moſt probably corrupted) was Zampea. She had accompanied, and alone remained with, her miſtreſs at Conſtantinople, where her prudence, erudition, and politeneſs deſerved the praiſes of the Greeks themſelves (Cantacuzen. l. i. c. 42.).

Treaty of John Palæologus I. with Innocent VI. A. D. 1355.

Yet of all the Byzantine princes, that pupil, John Palæologus, was the beſt diſpoſed to embrace, to believe, and to obey, the ſhepherd of the Weſt. His mother, Anne of Savoy, was baptized in the boſom of the Latin church: her marriage with Andronicus impoſed a change of name, of apparel, and of worſhip; but her heart was ſtill faithful to her country and religion; ſhe had formed the infancy of her ſon, and ſhe governed the emperor, after his mind, or at leaſt his ſtature, was enlarged to the ſize of man. In the firſt year of his deliverance and reſtoration, the Turks were ſtill maſters of the Helleſpont; the ſon of Cantacuzene was in arms at Adrianople; and Palæologus could depend neither on himſelf nor on his people.

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[6] [illegible]

nor on his people. By his mother's advice, and in the hope of foreign aid, he abjured the rights both of the church and ſtate; and the act of ſlavery[7], ſubſcribed in purple ink, and ſealed with the *golden* bull, was privately intruſted to an Italian agent. The firſt article of the treaty is an oath of fidelity and obedience to Innocent the ſixth and his ſucceſſors, the ſupreme pontiffs of the Roman and Catholic church. The emperor promiſes to entertain with due reverence their legates and nuncios; to aſſign a palace for their reſidence and a temple for their worſhip; and to deliver his ſecond ſon Manuel as the hoſtage of his faith. For theſe condeſcenſions, he requires a prompt ſuccour of fifteen gallies, with five hundred men at arms, and a thouſand archers, to ſerve againſt his Chriſtian and Muſulman enemies. Palæologus engages to impoſe on his clergy and people the ſame ſpiritual yoke; but as the reſiſtance of the Greeks might be juſtly foreſeen, he adopts the two effectual methods of corruption and education. The legate was empowered to diſtribute the vacant benefices among the eccleſiaſtics who ſhould ſubſcribe the creed of the Vatican: three ſchools were inſtituted to inſtruct the youth of Conſtantinople in the language and doctrine of the Latins; and the name of Andronicus, the heir of the empire, was enrolled as the firſt ſtudent. Should he fail in the meaſures of perſuaſion or force, Palæologus declares himſelf unworthy to reign; transferred to the pope all regal and paternal authority; and invests Innocent with full power to regulate the family, the government, and the marriage, of his ſon and ſucceſſor. But this treaty was neither executed nor publiſhed: the Roman gallies were as vain and imaginary as the ſubmiſſion of the Greeks; and it was only by the ſecrecy, that their ſovereign eſcaped the diſhonour, of this fruitleſs humiliation.

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[7] See this ignominious treaty in Fleury (Hiſt. Eccleſ. p. 151—154.), from Raynaldus, who drew it from the Vatican archives. It was not worth the trouble of a pious forgery.

Viſit of John Palæologus to Urban V. at Rome, A. D. 1369, October 13, &c.

The tempeſt of the Turkiſh arms ſoon burſt on his head; and, after the loſs of Adrianople and Romania, he was incloſed in his capital, the vaſſal of the haughty Amurath, with the miſerable hope of being the laſt devoured by the ſavage. In this abject ſtate, Palæologus embraced the reſolution of embarking for Venice, and caſting himſelf at the feet of the pope; he was the firſt of the Byzantine princes who had ever viſited the unknown regions of the Weſt, yet in them alone he could ſeek conſolation or relief; and with leſs violation of his dignity he might appear in the ſacred college than at the Ottoman Porte. After a long abſence, the Roman pontiffs were returning from Avignon to the banks of the Tyber; Urban the fifth[b], of a mild and virtuous character, encouraged or allowed the pilgrimage of the Greek prince; and, within the ſame year, enjoyed the glory of receiving in the Vatican the two Imperial ſhadows, who repreſented the majeſty of Conſtantine and Charlemagne. In this ſuppliant viſit, the emperor of Conſtantinople, whoſe vanity was loſt in his diſtreſs, gave more than could be expected of empty ſounds and formal ſubmiſſions. A previous trial was impoſed; and in the preſence of four cardinals, he acknowledged, as a true catholic, the ſupremacy of the pope, and the double proceſſion of the Holy Ghoſt. After this purification, he was introduced to a public audience in the church of St. Peter; Urban, in the midſt of the cardinals, was ſeated on his throne; the Greek monarch, after three genuflexions, devoutly kiſſed the feet, the hands, and at length the mouth, of the holy father, who celebrated high maſs in his preſence, allowed him to lead the bridle of his mule, and treated him with a ſumptuous banquet in the Vatican. The entertainment of Palæologus was friendly and honourable; yet ſome difference was obſerved between the emperors of the Eaſt and Weſt[9]; nor could the former be entitled to the rare privilege of chaunting the goſpel in the rank of a deacon[10]. In favour of his proſelyte, Urban ſtrove to rekindle the zeal of the French king, and the other powers of the Weſt; but he found them cold in the general cauſe, and active only in their domeſtic quarrels. The laſt hope of the emperor was in an Engliſh mercenary, John Hawkwood[11], or Acuto, who with a band of adventurers, the white brotherhood, had ravaged Italy from the Alps to Calabria, ſold his ſervices to the hoſtile ſtates, and incurred a juſt excommunication by ſhooting his arrows againſt the papal reſidence. A ſpecial licence was granted to negociate with the outlaw, but the forces, or the ſpirit, of Hawkwood, were unequal to the enterpriſe; and it was for the advantage perhaps of Palæologus to be diſappointed of a ſuccour, that muſt have been coſtly, that could not be effectual, and which might have been dangerous[12]. The diſconſolate Greek[13] prepared for his return, but even his return was impeded by a moſt ignominious obſtacle. On his arrival at Venice, he had borrowed large ſums at exorbitant uſury; but his coffers were empty, his creditors were impatient, and his perſon was detained as the beſt ſecurity for the payment. His eldeſt ſon Andronicus, the regent of Conſtantinople, was repeatedly urged to exhauſt every reſource; and, even by ſtripping the churches, to extricate his father from captivity and diſgrace. But the unnatural youth was inſenſible of the diſgrace, and ſecretly pleaſed with the captivity of the emperor; the ſtate was poor, the clergy was obſtinate; nor could ſome religious ſcruple be wanting to excuſe the guilt of his indifference and delay. Such undutiful neglect was ſeverely reproved by the piety of his brother Manuel, who inſtantly ſold or mortgaged all that he poſſeſſed, embarked for Venice, relieved his father, and pledged his own freedom to be reſponſible for the debt. On his return to Conſtantinople, the parent and king diſtinguiſhed his two ſons with ſuitable rewards; but the faith and manners of the ſlothful Palæologus had not been improved by his Roman pilgrimage; and his apoſtacy or converſion, devoid of any ſpiritual or temporal effects, was ſpeedily forgotten by the Greeks and Latins[14].

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[b] See the two firſt original Lives of Urban V. (in Muratori, Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. iii. P. ii. p. 623. 635.), and the Eccleſiaſtical Annals of Spondanus (tom. i. p. 573. A. D. 1369, No 7.) and Raynaldus (Fleury, Hiſt. Eccléſ. tom. xx. p. 223, 224.). Yet, from ſome variations, I ſuſpect the papal writers of ſlightly magnifying the genuflexions of Palæologus.

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[9] Paullo minus quam ſi fuiſſet Imperator Romanorum. Yet his title of Imperator Græcorum was no longer diſputed (Vit. Urban V. p. 623.).

[10] It was confined to the ſucceſſors of Charlemagne, and to them only on Chriſtmas day. On all other feſtivals, theſe Imperial deacons were content to ſerve the pope, as he ſaid maſs, with the book and the *corporal.* Yet the abbé de Sade generouſly thinks, that the merits of Charles IV. might have entitled him, though not on the proper day (A. D. 1368, November 1.), to the whole privilege. He ſeems to affix a juſt value on the privilege and the man (Vie de Petrarque, tom. iii. p. 735.).

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[11] The [illegible]

[12] [illegible]

[13] [illegible]

His return to Conſtantinople, A.D. 1370.

Thirty years after the return of Palæologus, his ſon and ſucceſſor, Manuel, from a ſimilar motive, but on a larger ſcale, again viſited the

Viſit of the emperor Manuel

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[14] His return in 1370, and the coronation of Manuel, Sept. 25, 1373 (Ducange, Fam. Byzant. p. 241.), leaves ſome intermediate ſpace for the conſpiracy and puniſhment of Andronicus.

countries of the Weſt. In a preceding chapter I have related his treaty with Bajazet, the violation of that treaty, the ſiege or blockade of Conſtantinople, and the French ſuccour under the command of the gallant Boucicault[15]. By his ambaſſadors, Manuel had ſolicited the Latin powers; but it was thought that the preſence of a diſtreſſed monarch would draw tears and ſupplies from the hardeſt Barbarians[16]; and the marſhal who adviſed the journey, prepared the reception, of the Byzantine prince. The land was occupied by the Turks; but the navigation of Venice was ſafe and open: Italy received him as the firſt, or, at leaſt, as the ſecond of the Chriſtian princes; Manuel was pitied as the champion and confeſſor of the faith; and the dignity of his behaviour prevented that pity from ſinking into contempt. From Venice he proceeded to Padua and Pavia; and even the duke of Milan, a ſecret ally of Bajazet, gave him ſafe and honourable conduct to the verge of his dominions[17]. On the confines of France[18], the royal officers undertook the care of his perſon, journey, and expences; and two

to the court of France, A. D. 1400, June 3;

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[15] Memoires de Boucicault, P. i. c. 35, 36.

[16] His journey into the weſt of Europe is ſlightly, and I believe reluctantly, noticed by Chalcondyles (l. ii. c. 44–50.) and Ducas (c. 14.).

[17] Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. xii. p. 406. John Galeazzo was the firſt and moſt powerful duke of Milan. His connection with Bajazet is atteſted by Froiſſard; and he contributed to ſave and deliver the French captives of Nicopolis.

[18] For the reception of Manuel at Paris, ſee Spondanus (Annal. Eccleſ. tom. i. p. 676, 677. A. D. 1400, No. 5.), who quotes Juvenal des Urſins and the monk of St. Denys; and Villaret (Hiſt. de France, tom. xii. p. 331–334.), who quotes nobody, according to the laſt faſhion of the French writers.

thouſand of the richeſt citizens, in arms and on horſeback, came forth to meet him as far as Charenton, in the neighbourhood of the capital. At the gates of Paris, he was ſaluted by the chancellor and the parliament; and Charles the ſixth, attended by his princes and nobles, welcomed his brother with a cordial embrace. The ſucceſſor of Conſtantine was clothed in a robe of white ſilk, and mounted on a milk-white ſteed; a circumſtance, in the French ceremonial, of ſingular importance: the white colour is conſidered as the ſymbol of ſovereignty; and, in a late viſit, the German emperor, after an haughty demand and a peeviſh refuſal, had been reduced to content himſelf with a black courſer. Manuel was lodged in the Louvre; a ſucceſſion of feaſts and balls, the pleaſures of the banquet and the chace, were ingeniouſly varied by the politeneſs of the French, to diſplay their magnificence and amuſe his grief: he was indulged in the liberty of his chapel; and the doctors of the Sorbonne were aſtoniſhed, and poſſibly ſcandaliſed, by the language, the rites, and the veſtments, of his Greek clergy. But the ſlighteſt glance on the ſtate of the kingdom, muſt teach him to deſpair of any effectual aſſiſtance. The unfortunate Charles, though he enjoyed ſome lucid intervals, continually relapſed into furious or ſtupid inſanity: the reins of government were alternately ſeized by his brother and uncle, the dukes of Orleans and Burgundy, whoſe factious competition prepared the miſeries of civil war. The former was a gay youth, diſſolved in luxury and love: the latter was the father of John count of Nevers, who had ſo lately been ranſomed from Turkiſh captivity; and, if the fearleſs ſon was ardent to revenge his defeat, the more prudent Burgundy was content with the coſt and peril of the firſt experiment. When Manuel had ſatiated the curioſity, and perhaps fatigued the patience, of the French, he reſolved on a viſit to the adjacent iſland. In his progreſs from Dover, he was entertained at Canterbury with due reverence by the prior and monks of St. Auſtin; and, on Blackheath, king Henry the fourth, with the Engliſh court, ſaluted the Greek hero (I copy our old hiſtorian), who, during many days, was lodged and treated in London as emperor of the Eaſt [12]. But the ſtate of England was ſtill more adverſe to the deſign of the holy war. In the ſame year, the hereditary ſovereign had been depoſed and murdered; the reigning prince was a ſucceſsful uſurper, whoſe ambition was puniſhed by jealouſy and remorſe: nor could Henry of Lancaſter withdraw his perſon or forces from the defence of a throne inceſſantly ſhaken by conſpiracy and rebellion. He pitied, he praiſed, he feaſted, the emperor of Conſtantinople; but if the Engliſh monarch aſſumed the croſs, it was

of England, A. D. 1400, December.

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[12] [illegible]

only to appeaſe his people, and perhaps his conſcience, by the merit or ſemblance of this pious intention[20]. Satisfied, however, with gifts and honours, Manuel returned to Paris; and, after a reſidence of two years in the Weſt, ſhaped his courſe through Germany and Italy, embarked at Venice, and patiently expected, in the Morea, the moment of his ruin or deliverance. Yet he had eſcaped the ignominious neceſſity of offering his religion to public or private ſale. The Latin church was diſtracted by the great ſchiſm: the kings, the nations, the univerſities, of Europe, were divided in their obedience between the popes of Rome and Avignon; and the emperor, anxious to conciliate the friendſhip of both parties, abſtained from any correſpondence with the indigent and unpopular rivals. His journey coincided with the year of the jubilee; but he paſſed through Italy without deſiring, or deſerving, the plenary indulgence which aboliſhed the guilt or penance of the ſins of the faithful. The Roman pope was offended by this neglect; accuſed him of irreverence to an image of Chriſt; and exhorted the princes of Italy to reject and abandon the obſtinate ſchiſmatic[21].

His return to Greece A. D. 1402.

During the period of the cruſades, the Greeks beheld with aſtoniſhment and terror the perpetual

Greek knowledge and

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[20] Shakeſpeare begins and ends the play of Henry IV. with that prince's vow of a cruſade, and his belief that he ſhould die in Jeruſalem.

[21] This fact is preſerved in the Hiſtoria Politica, A. D. 1391—1478, publiſhed by Martin Cruſius (Turco Græcia, p. 1—43). The image of Chriſt, which the Greek emperor refuſed to worſhip, was probably a work of ſculpture.

ſtream of emigration that flowed, and continued to flow, from the unknown climates of the Weſt. deſcriptions The viſits of their laſt emperors removed the veil of ſeparation, and they diſcloſed to their eyes the powerful nations of Europe, whom they no longer preſumed to brand with the name of Barbarians. The obſervations of Manuel, and his more inquiſitive followers, have been preſerved by a Byzantine hiſtorian of the times[22]: his ſcattered ideas I ſhall collect and abridge; and it may be amuſing enough, perhaps inſtructive, to contemplate the rude pictures of Germany, France, and England, whoſe ancient and modern ſtate are ſo familiar to of Germany; *our* mind. I. GERMANY (ſays the Greek Chalcondyles) is of ample latitude from Vienna to the Ocean; and it ſtretches (a ſtrange geography) from Prague in Bohemia to the river Tarteſſus, and the Pyrenæan mountains[23]. The ſoil, except in figs and olives, is ſufficiently fruitful; the air is ſalubrious; the bodies of the natives are robuſt and healthy; and theſe cold regions are ſeldom viſited with the calamities of peſtilence, or earthquakes. After the Scythians or Tartars, the Germans are the moſt numerous of nations; they are brave and patient, and were they united under a ſingle head, their force would be irreſiſtible. By the gift of the pope, they have acquired the privilege of chuſing the Roman emperor[24]; nor is any people more devoutly attached to the faith and obedience of the Latin patriarch. The greateſt part of the country is divided among the princes and prelates; but Straſburgh, Cologne, Hamburgh, and more than two hundred free cities, are governed by ſage and equal laws, according to the will, and for the advantage, of the whole community. The uſe of duels, or ſingle combats on foot, prevails among them in peace and war; their induſtry excels in all the mechanic arts, and the Germans may boaſt of the invention of gunpowder and cannon, which is now diffuſed over the greateſt part of the world. II. The kingdom of FRANCE is ſpread above fifteen or twenty days journey from Germany to Spain, and from the Alps to the Britiſh Ocean; containing many flouriſhing cities, and among theſe Paris, the ſeat of the king, which ſurpaſſes the reſt in riches and luxury. Many princes and lords alternately wait in his

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[22] The Greek and Turkiſh hiſtory of Laonicus Chalcondyles ends with the winter of 1463, and the abrupt concluſion ſeems to mark, that he laid down his pen in the ſame year. We know that he was an Athenian, and that ſome contemporaries of the ſame name contributed to the revival of the Greek language in Italy. But in his numerous digreſſions, the modeſt hiſtorian has never introduced himſelf; and his editor Leunclavius, as well as Fabricius (Bibliot. Græc. tom. vi. p. 474.), ſeems ignorant of his life and character. For his deſcriptions of Germany, France, and England, ſee l. ii. p. 36, 37, 44—50.

[23] I ſhall not animadvert on the geographical errors of Chalcondyles. In this inſtance, he perhaps followed, and miſtook, Herodotus (l. ii. c. 33.), whoſe text may be explained (Herodote de Larcher, tom. ii. p. 219, 220.), or whoſe ignorance may be excuſed. Had theſe modern Greeks never read Strabo, or any of their leſſer geographers?

of France;

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[24] A citizen of new Rome, while new Rome ſurvived, would have ſcorned to dignify the German ῥηξ with the titles of Βασιλευς, or Αυτοκρατωρ Ῥωμαιων: but all pride was extinct in the boſom of Chalcondyles; and he deſcribes the Byzantine prince, and his ſubject, by the proper, though humble names of Ελληνες, and Βασιλευς Ελληνων.

palace, and acknowledge him as their ſovereign, the moſt powerful are the dukes of Bretagne and Burgundy, of whom the latter poſſeſſes the wealthy province of Flanders, whoſe harbours are frequented by the ſhips and merchants of our own and the more remote ſeas. The French are an ancient and opulent people: and their language and manners, though ſomewhat different, are not diſſimilar from thoſe of the Italians. Vain of the Imperial dignity of Charlemagne, of their victories over the Saracens, and of the exploits of their heroes, Oliver and Rowland[25]; they eſteem themſelves the firſt of the weſtern nations: but this fooliſh arrogance has been recently humbled by the unfortunate events of their wars againſt the Engliſh, the inhabitants of the Britiſh iſland. III. Britain, in the ocean, and oppoſite to the ſhores of Flanders, may be conſidered either as one, or as three iſlands; but the whole is united by a common intereſt, by the ſame manners, and by a ſimilar government. The meaſure of its circumference is five thouſand ſtadia: the land is overſpread with towns and villages: though deſtitute of wine, and not abounding in fruit-trees, it is fertile in wheat and barley; in honey and wool; and much cloth is manufactured by the inhabitants. In populouſ-

England.

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[25] Moſt of the old romances were tranſlated in the xivth century into French proſe, and ſoon became the favourite amuſement of the knights and ladies in the court of Charles VI. If a Greek believed in the exploits of Rowland and Oliver, he may ſurely be excuſed, ſince the monks of St. Denys, the national hiſtorians, have inſerted the fables of archbiſhop Turpin in their Chronicles of France.

neſs

neſs and power, in riches and luxury, London[26], the metropolis of the iſle, may claim a pre-eminence over all the cities of the Weſt. It is ſituate on the Thames, a broad and rapid river, which at the diſtance of thirty miles falls into the Gallic Sea; and the daily flow and ebb of the tide, affords a ſafe entrance and departure to the veſſels of commerce. The king is the head of a powerful and turbulent ariſtocracy; his principal vaſſals hold their eſtates by a free and unalterable tenure; and the laws define the limits of his authority and their obedience. The kingdom has been often afflicted by foreign conqueſt and domeſtic ſedition; but the natives are bold and hardy, renowned in arms and victorious in war. The form of their ſhields or targets is derived from the Italians, that of their ſwords from the Greeks; the uſe of the long bow is the peculiar and deciſive advantage of the Engliſh. Their language bears no affinity to the idioms of the continent; in the habits of domeſtic life, they are not eaſily diſtinguiſhed from their neighbours of France: but the moſt ſingular circumſtance of their manners is their diſregard of conjugal honour and of female chaſtity. In their mutual viſits, as the firſt act of hoſpitality, the gueſt is welcomed in the embraces of their wives and daughters: among friends they are lent and borrowed without ſhame; nor are the iſlanders offended at this ſtrange com-

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[26] [illegible] Even ſince the time of Fitzſtephen (the xiith century), London appears to have maintained this pre-eminence of wealth and magnitude; and her gradual increaſe has, at leaſt, kept pace with the general improvement of Europe.

merce, and its inevitable conſequences[27]. Informed as we are of the cuſtoms of old England, and aſſured of the virtue of our mothers, we may ſmile at the credulity, or reſent the injuſtice, of the Greek, who muſt have confounded a modeſt ſalute[28] with a criminal embrace. But his credulity and injuſtice may teach an important leſſon; to diſtruſt the accounts of foreign and remote nations, and to ſuſpend our belief of every tale that deviates from the laws of nature and the character of man[29].

Indifference of Manuel towards the Latins, A.D. 1402—1417.

After his return, and the victory of Timour, Manuel reigned many years in proſperity and peace. As long as the ſons of Bajazet ſolicited his friendſhip and ſpared his dominions, he was ſatiſfied with the national religion; and his leiſure was employed in compoſing twenty theological dialogues for its defence. The appearance of the Byzantine ambaſſadors at the council of Conſtance[30] announces the reſtoration of the

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[27] If the double ſenſe of the verb Κυω (oſculor, and in utero gero) be equivocal, the context and pious horror of Chalcondyles can leave no doubt of his meaning and miſtake (p. 49.).

[28] Eraſmus (Epiſt. Fauſto Andrelino) has a pretty paſſage on the Engliſh faſhion of kiſſing ſtrangers on their arrival and departure, from whence, however, he draws no ſcandalous inferences.

[29] Perhaps we may apply this remark to the community of wives among the old Britons, as it is ſuppoſed by Cæſar and Dion (Dion Caſſius, l. lxii. tom. ii. p. 1007.), with Reimar's judicious annotation. The Arreoy of Otaheite, ſo certain at firſt, is become leſs viſible and ſcandalous, in proportion as we have ſtudied the manners of that gentle and amorous people.

[30] See Lenfant, Hiſt. du Concile de Conſtance, tom. ii. p. 576; and for the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of the times, the Annals of Spondanus, the Bibliothèque of Dupin, tom. xii. and the xxiſt and xxiid volumes of the Hiſtory, or rather the Continuation, of Fleury.

Turkiſh power, as well as of the Latin church; the conqueſt of the ſultans, Mahomet and Amurath, reconciled the emperor to the Vatican; and the ſiege of Conſtantinople almoſt tempted him to acquieſce in the double proceſſion of the Holy Ghoſt. When Martin the fifth aſcended without a rival the chair of St. Peter, a friendly intercourſe of letters and embaſſies was revived between the Eaſt and Weſt. Ambition on one ſide, and diſtreſs on the other, dictated the ſame decent language of charity and peace: the artful Greek expreſſed a deſire of marrying his ſix ſons to Italian princeſſes; and the Roman, not leſs artful, diſpatched the daughter of the marquis of Montferrat, with a company of noble virgins, to ſoften by their charms the obſtinacy of the ſchiſmatics. Yet under this maſk of zeal, a diſcerning eye will perceive that all was hollow and inſincere in the court and church of Conſtantinople. According to the viciſſitudes of danger and repoſe, the emperor advanced or retreated; alternately inſtructed and diſavowed his miniſters; and eſcaped from an importunate preſſure by urging the duty of inquiry, the obligation of collecting the ſenſe of his patriarchs and biſhops, and the impoſſibility of convening them at a time when the Turkiſh arms were at the gates of his capital. From a review of the public tranſactions it will appear, that the Greeks inſiſted on three ſucceſſive meaſures, a ſuccour, a council, and a final re-union, while the Latins eluded the ſecond, and only promiſed the firſt, as a conſequential and voluntary reward of the third. But

His negociations,
A. D. 1417—1425.

we

His private motives.

we have an opportunity of unfolding the moſt ſecret intentions of Manuel as he explained them in a private converſation without artifice or diſguiſe. In his declining age, the emperor had aſſociated John Palæologus, the ſecond of the name, and the eldeſt of his ſons, on whom he devolved the greateſt part of the authority and weight of government. One day, in the preſence only of the hiſtorian Phranza[31], his favourite chamberlain, he opened to his colleague and ſucceſſor the true principle of his negociations with the pope[32]. “Our laſt reſource,” ſaid Manuel, “againſt the Turks is their fear of our
“union with the Latins, of the warlike nations
“of the Weſt, who may arm for our relief and
“for their deſtruction. As often as you are
“threatened by the miſcreants, preſent this danger
“before their eyes. Propoſe a council; conſult
“on the means; but ever delay and avoid the
“convocation of an aſſembly, which cannot tend
“either to our ſpiritual or temporal emolument.

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[31] From his early youth, George Phranza, or Phranzes, was employed in the ſervice of the ſtate and palace; and Hanckius (de Script. Byzant. P. i. c. 40.) has collected his life from his own writings. He was no more than four-and-twenty years of age at the death of Manuel, who recommended him in the ſtrongeſt terms to his ſucceſſor: Imprimis vero hunc Phranzen tibi commendo, qui miniſtravit mihi fideliter et diligenter (Phranzes, l. ii. c. 1.). Yet the emperor John was cold, and he preferred the ſervice of the deſpots of Peloponneſus.

[32] See Phranzes, l. ii. c. 13. While ſo many manuſcripts of the Greek original are extant in the libraries of Rome, Milan, the Eſcurial, &c. it is a matter of ſhame and reproach, that we ſhould be reduced to the Latin verſion, or abſtract, of James Pontanus (ad calcem Theophylact. Simocattæ: Ingolſtadt, 1604), ſo deficient in accuracy and elegance (Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. vi. p. 615—620.)

"The Latins are proud; the Greeks are ob-"ſtinate; neither party will recede or retract; "and the attempt of a perfect union will confirm "the ſchiſm, alienate the churches, and leave "us, without hope or defence, at the mercy of "the Barbarians." Impatient of this ſalutary leſſon, the royal youth aroſe from his ſeat, and departed in ſilence; and the wiſe monarch (continues Phranza), caſting his eyes on me, thus reſumed his diſcourſe: "My ſon deems himſelf "a great and heroic prince; but, alas! our "miſerable age does not afford ſcope for heroiſm "or greatneſs. His daring ſpirit might have "ſuited the happier times of our anceſtors; but "the preſent ſtate requires not an emperor, but "a cautious ſteward of the laſt relics of our "fortunes. Well do I remember the lofty ex-"pectations which he built on our alliance with "Muſtapha; and much do I fear, that his raſh "courage will urge the ruin of our houſe, and "that even religion may precipitate our down-"fall." Yet the experience and authority of Manuel preſerved the peace and eluded the council; till, in the ſeventy-eighth year of his age, and in the habit of a monk, he terminated his career, dividing his precious moveables among his children and the poor, his phyſicians and his favourite ſervants. Of his ſix ſons[33], Andronicus, the ſecond was inveſted with the principality of Theſſalonica, and died of a leproſy ſoon after the ſale of that city to the Venetians and its final conqueſt by the Turks. Some fortunate incidents

His death.

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[33] See Ducange, Fam. Byzant. p. 243—248.

had reſtored Peloponneſus, or the Morea, to the empire; and in his more proſperous days, Manuel had fortified the narrow iſthmus of ſix miles[33] with a ſtone wall and one hundred and fifty-three towers. The wall was overthrown by the firſt blaſt of the Ottomans: the fertile peninſula might have been ſufficient for the four younger brothers, Theodore and Conſtantine, Demetrius and Thomas; but they waſted in domeſtic conteſts the remains of their ſtrength; and the leaſt ſucceſsful of the rivals were reduced to a life of dependence in the Byzantine palace.

Zeal of John Palæologus II. A.D. 1425—1437.

The eldeſt of the ſons of Manuel, John Palæologus the ſecond, was acknowledged, after his father's death, as the ſole emperor of the Greeks. He immediately proceeded to repudiate his wife, and to contract a new marriage with the princeſs of Trebizond: beauty was in his eyes the firſt qualification of an empreſs; and the clergy had yielded to his firm aſſurance, that unleſs he might be indulged in a divorce, he would retire to a cloiſter, and leave the throne to his brother Conſtantine. The firſt, and in truth the only, victory of Palæologus was over a Jew[34], whom, after a long and learned diſpute, he converted to the Chriſtian faith; and this momentous conqueſt is carefully recorded in the hiſtory of the times. But he ſoon reſumed the deſign of uniting the Eaſt and Weſt; and regardleſs of his father's advice, liſtened, as it ſhould ſeem with ſincerity, to the propoſal of meeting the pope in a general council beyond the Adriatic. This dangerous project was encouraged by Martin the fifth, and coldly entertained by his ſucceſſor Eugenius, till, after a tedious negociation, the emperor received a ſummons from a Latin aſſembly of a new character, the independent prelates of Baſil, who ſtyled themſelves the repreſentatives and judges of the Catholic church.

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[33] The exact meaſure of the Hexamilion, from ſea to ſea, was 3800 orgyiæ, or toiſes, of ſix Greek feet (Phranza, l. i. c. 38.), which would produce a Greek mile, ſtill ſmaller than that of 660 French toiſes, which is aſſigned by d'Anville as ſtill in uſe in Turkey. Five miles are commonly reckoned for the breadth of the iſthmus. See the Travels of Spon, Wheeler, and Chandler.

[34] The firſt objection of the Jews is on the death of Chriſt: if it were voluntary, Chriſt was a ſuicide; which the emperor parries with a myſtery. They then diſpute on the conception of the Virgin, the ſenſe of the prophecies, &c. (Phranza, l. ii. c. 12. a whole chapter).

Corruption of the Latin church.

The Roman pontiff had fought and conquered in the cauſe of eccleſiaſtical freedom; but the victorious clergy were ſoon expoſed to the tyranny of their deliverer; and his ſacred character was invulnerable to thoſe arms which they found ſo keen and effectual againſt the civil magiſtrate. Their great charter, the right of election, was annihilated by appeals, evaded by truſts or commendams, diſappointed by reverſionary grants, and ſuperſeded by previous and arbitrary reſervations[36]. A public auction was inſtituted in the court of Rome: the cardinals and favourites were enriched with the ſpoils of nations; and every country might complain that the moſt important and valuable benefices were accumulated on the heads of aliens and abſentees. During their reſidence at Avignon, the ambition of the popes ſubſided in the meaner paſſions of avarice[37] and luxury: they rigorouſly impoſed on the clergy the tributes of firſt-fruits and tenths; but they freely tolerated the impunity of vice, diſorder, and corruption. Theſe manifold ſcandals were aggravated by the great ſchiſm of the Weſt, which continued above fifty years. In the furious conflicts of Rome and Avignon, the vices of the rivals were mutually expoſed; and their precarious ſituation degraded their authority, relaxed their diſcipline, and multiplied their wants and exactions. To heal the wounds, and reſtore the monarchy, of the church, the ſynods of Piſa and Conſtance[38] were ſucceſſively convened; but theſe great aſſemblies, conſcious of their ſtrength, reſolved to vindicate the privileges of the Chriſtian ariſtocracy. From a perſonal ſentence againſt two pontiffs, whom they rejected, and a third, their acknowledged ſovereign, whom they depoſed, the fathers of Conſtance proceeded to examine the nature and limits of the Roman ſupremacy; nor did they ſeparate till

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[36] In the treatiſe delle Materie Beneficiarie of Fra-Paolo (in the ivth volume of the laſt and beſt edition of his works), the papal ſyſtem is deeply ſtudied and freely deſcribed. Should Rome and her religion be annihilated, this golden volume may ſtill ſurvive, a philoſophical hiſtory, and a ſalutary warning.

Schiſm, A.D. 1378—1429.

Council of Piſa, A.D. 1409; of Conſtance, A.D. 1414—1418.

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[37] Pope John XXII. (in 1334) left behind him, at Avignon, eighteen millions of gold florins, and the value of ſeven millions more in plate and jewels. See the Chronicle of John Villani (l. xi. c. 20, in Muratori's Collection, tom. xiii. p. 765.), whoſe brother received the account from the papal treaſurers. A treaſure of ſix or eight millions ſterling in the xivth century is enormous, and almoſt incredible.

[38] A learned and liberal Proteſtant, M. Lenfant, has given a fair hiſtory of the councils of Piſa, Conſtance, and Baſil, in ſix volumes in quarto; but the laſt part is the moſt haſty and imperfect, except in the account of the troubles of Bohemia.

they had eſtabliſhed the authority, above the pope, of a general council. It was enacted, that, for the government and reformation of the church, ſuch aſſemblies ſhould be held at regular intervals; and that each ſynod, before its diſſolution, ſhould appoint the time and place of the ſubſequent meeting. By the influence of the court of Rome, the next convocation at Sienna was eaſily eluded; but the bold and vigorous proceedings of the council of Baſil[39] had almoſt been fatal to the reigning pontiff, Eugenius the fourth. A juſt ſuſpicion of his deſign prompted the fathers to haſten the promulgation of their firſt decree, that the repreſentatives of the church-militant on earth were inveſted with a divine and ſpiritual juriſdiction over all Chriſtians, without excepting the pope; and that a general council could not be diſſolved, prorogued, or transferred, unleſs by their free deliberation and conſent. On the notice that Eugenius had fulminated a bull for that purpoſe, they ventured to ſummon, to admoniſh, to threaten, to cenſure, the contumacious ſucceſſor of St. Peter. After many delays, to allow time for repentance, they finally declared, that, unleſs he ſubmitted within the term of ſixty days, he was ſuſpended from the exercise of all temporal and eccleſiaſtical

Of the council of Baſil, A.D. 1431—1443.

Their oppoſition to Eugenius IV.

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[39] The original acts or minutes of the council of Baſil, are preſerved in the public library, in twelve volumes in folio. Baſil was a free city, conveniently ſituate on the Rhine, and guarded by the arms of the neighbouring and confederate Swiſs. In 1459, the univerſity was founded by pope Pius II. (Æneas Sylvius), who had been ſecretary to the council. But what is a council, or an univerſity, to the preſſes of Froben and the ſtudies of Eraſmus?

authority. And to mark their juriſdiction over the prince as well as the prieſt, they aſſumed the government of Avignon, annulled the alienation of the ſacred patrimony, and protected Rome from the impoſition of new taxes. Their boldneſs was juſtified, not only by the general opinion of the clergy, but by the ſupport and power of the firſt monarchs of Chriſtendom; the emperor Sigiſmond declared himſelf the ſervant and protector of the ſynod; Germany and France adhered to their cauſe; the duke of Milan was the enemy of Eugenius; and he was driven from the Vatican by an inſurrection of the Roman people. Rejected at the ſame time by his temporal and ſpiritual ſubjects, ſubmiſſion was his only choice: by a moſt humiliating bull, the pope repealed his own acts, and ratified thoſe of the council; incorporated his legates and cardinals with that venerable body; and *ſeemed* to reſign himſelf to the decrees of the ſupreme legiſlature. Their fame pervaded the countries of the Eaſt; and it was in their preſence that Sigiſmond received the ambaſſadors of the Turkiſh ſultan[illegible], who laid at his feet twelve large vaſes, filled with robes of ſilk and pieces of gold. The fathers of Baſil aſpired to the glory of reducing the Greeks, as well as the Bohemians, within the pale of the church; and their deputies invited the emperor and patriarch of Conſtantinople to unite with an aſſembly which poſſeſſed the confidence of the Weſtern nations. Palæologus was not averſe to

Negociations with the Greeks, A.D. 1434–1437.

[illegible] This Turkiſh embaſſy, atteſted only by Crantzius, is related with ſome doubt by the annaliſt Spondanus, A.D. 1433, N° 25. tom. i. p. 824.

the propoſal; and his ambaſſadors were introduced with due honours into the Catholic ſenate. But the choice of the place appeared to be an inſuperable obſtacle, ſince he refuſed to paſs the Alps, or the ſea of Sicily, and poſitively required that the ſynod ſhould be adjourned to ſome convenient city in Italy, or at leaſt on the Danube. The other articles of this treaty were more readily ſtipulated: it was agreed to defray the travelling expences of the emperor, with a train of ſeven hundred perſons[41], to remit an immediate ſum of eight thouſand ducats[42] for the accommodation of the Greek clergy; and in his abſence to grant a ſupply of ten thouſand ducats, with three hundred archers and ſome gallies, for the protection of Conſtantinople. The city of Avignon advanced the funds for the preliminary expences; and the embarkation was prepared at Marſeilles with ſome difficulty and delay.

John Palæologus embarks in the pope's gallies, A.D. 1437, Nov. 24.

In his diſtreſs, the friendſhip of Palæologus was diſputed by the eccleſiaſtical powers of the Weſt; but the dexterous activity of a monarch prevailed over the ſlow debates and inflexible temper of a republic. The decrees of Baſil continually tended to circumſcribe the deſpotiſm of the pope, and to erect a ſupreme and perpetual tribunal in the church. Eugenius was impatient of the yoke; and the union of the Greeks might afford a decent pretence for tranſlating a rebellious ſynod from the Rhine to the Po. The independence of the fathers was loſt if they paſſed the Alps; Savoy or Avignon, to which they acceded with reluctance, were deſcribed at Conſtantinople as ſituate far beyond the pillars of Hercules[43]; the emperor and his clergy were apprehenſive of the dangers of a long navigation; they were offended by an haughty declaration, that after ſuppreſſing the *new* hereſy of the Bohemians, the council would ſoon eradicate the *old* hereſy of the Greeks[44]. On the ſide of Eugenius, all was ſmooth, and yielding, and reſpectful: and he invited the Byzantine monarch to heal by his preſence the ſchiſm of the Latin, as well as of the Eaſtern, church. Ferrara, near the coaſt of the Adriatic, was propoſed for their amicable interview; and with ſome indulgence of forgery and theft, a ſurreptitious decree was procured, which transferred the ſynod, with its own conſent, to that Italian city. Nine gallies were equipped for this ſervice at Venice, and in the iſle of Candia; their diligence anticipated the ſlower veſſels of Baſil: the Roman admiral was commiſſioned to burn, ſink, and deſtroy[45]; and theſe prieſtly ſquadrons might have encountered each other in the ſame ſeas where Athens and Sparta had formerly contended for the pre-eminence of glory. Aſſaulted by the importunity of the factions who were ready to fight for the poſſeſſion of his perſon, Palæologus heſitated before he left his palace and country on a perilous experiment. His father's advice ſtill dwelt on his memory: and reaſon muſt ſuggeſt, that ſince the Latins were divided among themſelves, they could never unite in a foreign cauſe. Sigiſmond diſſuaded the unſeaſonable adventure; his advice was impartial, ſince he adhered to the council; and it was enforced by the ſtrange belief, that the German Cæſar would nominate a Greek his heir and ſucceſſor in the empire of the Weſt[46]. Even the Turkiſh ſultan was a counſellor whom it might be unſafe to truſt, but whom it was dangerous to offend. Amurath was unſkilled in the diſputes, but he was apprehenſive of the union of the Chriſtians. From his own treaſures, he offered to relieve the wants of the Byzantine court; yet he declared with ſeeming magnanimity, that Conſtantinople ſhould be ſecure and inviolate, in the abſence of her ſovereign[47]. The reſolution of Palæologus was decided by the moſt ſplendid gifts and the moſt ſpecious promiſes: he wiſhed to eſcape for a while from a ſcene of danger and diſtreſs; and after diſmiſſing with an ambiguous anſwer the meſſengers of the council, he declared his intention of embarking in the Roman gallies. The age of the patriarch Joſeph was more ſuſceptible of fear than of hope; he trembled at the perils of the ſea, and expreſſed his apprehenſion, that his feeble voice, with thirty perhaps of his orthodox brethren, would be oppreſſed in a foreign land by the power and numbers of a Latin ſynod. He yielded to the royal mandate, to the flattering aſſurance, that he would be heard as the oracle of nations, and to the ſecret wiſh of learning from his brother of the Weſt, to deliver the church from the yoke of kings[48]. The five *croſs-bearers* or dignitaries of St. Sophia were bound to attend his perſon; and one of theſe, the great eccleſiarch or preacher, Sylveſter Syropulus[49], has

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[41] Syropulus, p. 19. In this liſt, the Greeks appear to have exceeded the real numbers of the clergy and laity which afterwards attended the emperor and patriarch, but which are not clearly ſpecified by the great eccleſiarch. The 75,000 florins which they aſked in this negociation of the pope (p. 9.), were more than they could hope or want.

[42] I uſe indifferently the words ducat and florin, which derive their names, the former from the dukes of Milan, the latter from the republic of Florence. Theſe gold pieces, the firſt that were coined in Italy, perhaps in the Latin world, may be compared in weight and value to one-third of the Engliſh guinea.

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[43] At the end of the Latin verſion of Phranzes, we read a long Greek epiſtle or declamation of George of Trebizond, who adviſes the emperor to prefer Eugenius and Italy. He treats with contempt the ſchiſmatic aſſembly of Baſil, the Barbarians of Gaul and Germany, who had conſpired to tranſport the chair of St. Peter beyond the Alps; οἱ ἄθλιοι (ſays he) σε καὶ τὴν μετὰ σοῦ σύνοδον ἔξω τῶν Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν καὶ πέρα Γαδήρων ἐξάξουσι. Was Conſtantinople unprovided with a map?

[44] Syropulus (p. 26—31.) atteſts his own indignation, and that of his countrymen; and the Baſil deputies, who excuſed the raſh declaration, could neither deny nor alter an act of the council.

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[45] Condolmieri, the pope's nephew and admiral, expreſsly declared, ὅτι ὁρισμὸν ἔχει παρὰ τοῦ Πάπα ἵνα πολεμήσῃ ὅπου ἂν εὕρῃ τὰ κάτεργα τῆς Συνόδου, καὶ εἰ δυνηθῇ, κατακαύσῃ καὶ ἀφανίσῃ. The naval orders of the ſynod were leſs peremptory, and, till the hoſtile ſquadrons appeared, both parties tried to conceal their quarrel from the Greeks.

[46] Syropulus mentions the hopes of Palæologus (p. 36.), and the laſt advice of Sigiſmond (p. 57.). At Corfu, the Greek emperor was informed of his friend's death; had he known it ſooner, he would have returned home (p. 79.).

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[47] Phranzes himſelf, though from different motives, was of the advice of Amurath (l. ii. c. 13.). Utinam ne ſynodus iſta unquam fuiſſet, ſi tantas offenſiones et detrimenta paritura erat. This Turkiſh embaſſy is likewiſe mentioned by Syropulus (p. 58.); and Amurath kept his word. He might threaten (p. 125. 219.), but he never attacked the city.

[48] The reader will ſmile at the ſimplicity with which he imparted theſe hopes to his favourites: [illegible] (p. 92.). Yet it would have been difficult for him to have practiſed the leſſons of Gregory VII.

[49] The Chriſtian name of Sylveſter is borrowed from the Latin calendar. In modern Greek, πουλ, as a diminutive, is added to the

compoſed[50] a free and curious hiſtory of the *falſe* union[51]. Of the clergy that reluctantly obeyed the ſummons of the emperor and the patriarch, ſubmiſſion was the firſt duty, and patience the moſt uſeful virtue. In a choſen liſt of twenty biſhops, we diſcover the metropolitan titles of Heraclea and Cyzicus, Nice and Nicomedia, Epheſus and Trebizond, and the perſonal merit of Mark and Beſſarion, who, in the confidence of their learning and eloquence, were promoted to the epiſcopal rank. Some monks and philoſophers were named to diſplay the ſcience and ſanctity of the Greek church: and the ſervice of the choir was performed by a ſelect band of ſingers and muſicians. The patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jeruſalem, appeared by their genuine or fictitious deputies; the primate of Ruſſia repreſented a national church, and the Greeks might contend with the Latins in the extent of their ſpiritual empire. The precious vaſes of St. Sophia were expoſed to the winds and waves, that the patriarch might officiate with becoming ſplendour; whatever gold

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the end of words: nor can any reaſoning of Creyghton, the editor, excuſe his changing into *Sguro*pulus (Sguros, fuſcus) the Syropulus of his own manuſcript, whoſe name is ſubſcribed with his own hand in the acts of the council of Florence. Why might not the author be of Syrian extraction?

[50] From the concluſion of the hiſtory, I ſhould fix the date to the year 1444, four years after the ſynod, when the great eccleſiarch had abdicated his office (ſectio xii. p. 330—350.). His paſſions were cooled by time and retirement, and, although Syropulus is often partial, he is never intemperate.

[51] *Vera hiſtoria unionis non veræ inter Græcos et Latinos* (*Hagæ Comitis*, 1660, in folio), was firſt publiſhed with a looſe and florid verſion, by Robert Creyghton, chaplain to Charles II. in his exile. The zeal of the editor has prefixed a polemic title, for the beginning of the original is wanting. Syropulus may be ranked with the beſt of the Byzantine writers for the merit of his narration, and even of his ſtyle: but he is excluded from the orthodox collections of the councils.

the emperor could procure, was expended in the maſſy ornaments of his bed and chariot [52]: and while they affected to maintain the proſperity of their ancient fortune, they quarrelled for the diviſion of fifteen thouſand ducats, the firſt alms of the Roman pontiff. After the neceſſary preparations, John Palæologus, with a numerous train, accompanied by his brother Demetrius, and the moſt reſpectable perſons of the church and ſtate, embarked in eight veſſels with ſails and oars, which ſteered through the Turkiſh ſtreights of Gallipoli to the Archipelago, the Morea, and the Adriatic Gulf [53].

His triumphal entry at Venice, A.D. 1438, Feb. 9;

After a tedious and troubleſome navigation of ſeventy-ſeven days, this religious ſquadron caſt anchor before Venice; and their reception proclaimed the joy and magnificence of that powerful republic. In the command of the world, the modeſt Auguſtus had never claimed ſuch honours from his ſubjects as were paid to his feeble ſucceſſor by an independent ſtate. Seated on the poop, on a lofty throne, he received the viſit, or, in the Greek ſtyle, the *adoration*, of the doge and ſenators [54]. They ſailed in the Bucentaur, which was accompanied by twelve ſtately gallies: the ſea was overſpread with innumerable gondolas of pomp and pleaſure; the air reſounded with muſic and acclamations; the mariners, and even the veſſels, were dreſſed in ſilk and gold; and in all the emblems and pageants, the Roman eagles were blended with the lions of St. Mark. The triumphal proceſſion, aſcending the great canal, paſſed under the bridge of the Rialto: and the eaſtern ſtrangers gazed with admiration on the palaces, the churches, and the populouſneſs of a city, that ſeems to float on the boſom of the waves[55]. They ſighed to behold the ſpoils and trophies with which it had been decorated after the ſack of Conſtantinople. After an hoſpitable entertainment of fifteen days, Palæologus purſued his journey by land and water from Venice to Ferrara: and on this occaſion, the pride of the Vatican was tempered by policy to indulge the ancient dignity of the emperor of the Eaſt. He made his entry on a *black* horſe; but a milk-white ſteed, whoſe trappings were embroidered with golden eagles, was led before him; and the canopy was borne over his head by the princes of Eſte, the ſons or kinſmen of Nicholas, marquis of the city, and a ſovereign

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[52] Syropulus (p. 63.) ſimply expreſſes his intention: *ἵν' οὕτω πομπάων ἐν Ἰταλοῖς μέγας βασιλεὺς παρ' ἐκείνων νομίζοιτο*; and the Latin of Creyghton may afford a ſpecimen of his florid paraphraſe. Ut pompâ circumductus noſter Imperator Italiæ populis aliquis deauratus Jupiter crederetur, aut Crœſus ex opulenta Lydia.

[53] Although I cannot ſtop to quote Syropulus for every fact, I will obſerve that the navigation of the Greeks from Conſtantinople to Venice and Ferrara is contained in the ivth ſection (p. 67—100.), and that the hiſtorian has the uncommon talent of placing each ſcene before the reader's eye.

[54] At the time of the ſynod, Phranza was in Peloponneſus; but he received from the deſpot Demetrius a faithful account of the

into Ferrara, Feb. 28.

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the honourable reception of the emperor and patriarch both at Venice and Ferrara (Dux . . . . ſedentem Imperatorem *adorat*), which are more ſlightly mentioned by the Latins (l. ii. c. 14, 15, 16.).

[55] The aſtoniſhment of a Greek prince and a French ambaſſador (Memoires de Philippe de Comines, l. vii. c. 18.) at the ſight of Venice, abundantly prove, that in the xvth century it was the firſt and moſt ſplendid of the Chriſtian cities. For the ſpoils of Conſtantinople at Venice, ſee Syropulus (p. 87.).

more powerful than himſelf [56]. Palæologus did not alight till he reached the bottom of the ſtaircaſe: the pope advanced to the door of the apartment; refuſed his proffered genuflexion; and, after a paternal embrace, conducted the emperor to a ſeat on his left-hand. Nor would the patriarch deſcend from his galley, till a ceremony, almoſt equal, had been ſtipulated between the biſhops of Rome and Conſtantinople. The latter was ſaluted by his brother with a kiſs of union and charity: nor would any of the Greek eccleſiaſtics ſubmit to kiſs the feet of the Weſtern primate. On the opening of the ſynod, the place of honour in the centre was claimed by the temporal and eccleſiaſtical chiefs; and it was only by alleging that his predeceſſors had not aſſiſted in perſon at Nice or Chalcedon, that Eugenius could evade the ancient precedents of Conſtantine and Marcian. After much debate, it was agreed that the right and left ſides of the church ſhould be occupied by the two nations: that the ſolitary chair of St. Peter ſhould be raiſed the firſt of the Latin line; and that the throne of the Greek emperor, at the head of his clergy, ſhould be equal and oppoſite to the ſecond place, the vacant ſeat of the emperor of the Weſt [57].

But

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[56] Nicholas III. of Este reigned forty-eight years (A. D. 1393—1441), and was lord of Ferrara, Modena, Reggio, Parma, Rovigo, and Commachio. See his life in Muratori (Antichità Estenſe, tom. ii. p. 159—201.).

[57] The Latin vulgar [illegible] laughter [illegible] dreſſes of the Greeks, [illegible] and their beards [illegible] the purple [illegible] Hody [illegible]

Council of the Greeks and Latins at Ferrara and Florence, A. D. 1438, Oct. 8— A. D. 1439, July 6.

But as ſoon as feſtivity and form had given place to a more ſerious treaty, the Greeks were diſſatisfied with their journey, with themſelves, and with the pope. The artful pencil of his emiſſaries had painted him in a proſperous ſtate; at the head of the princes and prelates of Europe, obedient, at his voice, to believe and to arm. The thin appearance of the univerſal ſynod of Ferrara betrayed his weakneſs; and the Latins opened the firſt ſeſſion with only five archbiſhops, eighteen biſhops, and ten abbots, the greateſt part of whom were the ſubjects or countrymen of the Italian pontiff. Except the duke of Burgundy, none of the potentates of the Weſt condeſcended to appear in perſon, or by their ambaſſadors; nor was it poſſible to ſuppreſs the judicial acts of Baſil againſt the dignity and perſon of Eugenius, which were finally concluded by a new election. Under theſe circumſtances, a truce or delay was aſked and granted, till Palæologus could expect from the conſent of the Latins ſome temporal reward for an unpopular union; and, after the firſt ſeſſion, the public proceedings were adjourned above ſix months. The emperor, with a choſen band of his favourites and *Janizaries*, fixed his ſummer reſidence at a pleaſant ſpacious monaſtery, ſix miles from Ferrara; forgot, in the pleaſures of the chace, the diſtreſs of the church and ſtate; and perſiſted in deſtroying the game, without liſtening to the juſt complaints of the marquis or

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de Græcis Illuſtribus, p. 31.). Yet another ſpectator confeſſes, that the Greek faſhion was piu grave e piu degna than the Italian (Veſpaſiano, in Vit. Eugen. IV. in Muratori, tom. xxv. p. 261.).

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the huſbandman[58]. In the mean while, his unfortunate Greeks were expoſed to all the miſeries of exile and poverty; for the ſupport of each ſtranger, a monthly allowance was aſſigned of three or four gold florins; and although the entire ſum did not amount to ſeven hundred florins, a long arrear was repeatedly incurred by the indigence or policy of the Roman court[59]. They ſighed for a ſpeedy deliverance, but their eſcape was prevented by a triple chain: a paſſport from their ſuperiors was required at the gates of Ferrara; the government of Venice had engaged to arreſt and ſend back the fugitives; and inevitable puniſhment awaited them at Conſtantinople; excommunication, fines, and a ſentence, which did not reſpect the ſacerdotal dignity, that they ſhould be ſtripped naked and publicly whipped[60]. It was only by the alternative of hunger or diſpute that the Greeks could be perſuaded to open the firſt conference; and they yielded with extreme reluctance to attend from Ferrara to Florence the rear of a flying ſynod. This new tranſlation was urged by inevitable neceſſity: the city was viſited by the plague; the fidelity of the marquis might be ſuſpected; the mercenary troops of the duke of Milan were at the gates; and as they occupied Romagna, it was not without difficulty and danger that the pope, the emperor, and the biſhops, explored their way through the unfrequented paths of the Apennine[61].

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[58] For the emperor's hunting, ſee Syropulus (p. 143, 144. 191.). The pope had ſent him eleven miſerable hacks; but he bought a ſtrong and ſwift horſe that came from Ruſſia. The name of *Janizaries* may ſurpriſe; but the name, rather than the inſtitution, had paſſed from the Ottoman, to the Byzantine, court, and is often uſed in the laſt age of the empire.

[59] The Greeks obtained, with much difficulty, that inſtead of proviſions, money ſhould be diſtributed, four florins *per* month to the perſons of honourable rank, and three florins to their ſervants, with an addition of thirty more to the emperor, twenty-five to the patriarch, and twenty to the prince or deſpot Demetrius. The payment of the firſt month amounted to 691 florins, a ſum which will not allow us to reckon above 200 Greeks of every condition (Syropulus, p. 104, 105.). On the 20th October 1438, there was an arrear of four months; in April 1439, of three; and of five and a half in July, at the time of the union (p. 172. 225. 271.).

[60] Syropulus (p. 141, 142. 204. 221.) deplores the impriſonment of the Greeks, and the tyranny of the emperor and patriarch.

Yet all theſe obſtacles were ſurmounted by time and policy. The violence of the fathers of Baſil rather promoted than injured the cauſe of Eugenius: the nations of Europe abhorred the ſchiſm, and diſowned the election, of Felix the fifth, who was ſucceſſively a duke of Savoy, an hermit, and a pope; and the great princes were gradually reclaimed by his competitor to a favourable neutrality and a firm attachment. The legates, with ſome reſpectable members, deſerted to the Roman army, which inſenſibly roſe in numbers and reputation: the council of Baſil was reduced to thirty-nine biſhops, and three hundred of the inferior clergy[62]; while the Latins of

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[61] The wars of Italy are moſt clearly repreſented in the xiiith volume of the Annals of Muratori. The ſchiſmatic Greek, Syropulus (p. 145.), appears to have exaggerated the fear and diſorder of the pope in his retreat from Ferrara to Florence, which is proved by the acts to have been ſomewhat more decent and deliberate.

[62] Syropulus is pleaſed to reckon ſeven hundred prelates in the council of Baſil. The error is manifeſt, and perhaps voluntary. That

Florence could produce the ſubſcriptions of the pope himſelf, eight cardinals, two patriarchs, eight archbiſhops, fifty-two biſhops, and forty-five abbots, or chiefs of religious orders. After the labour of nine months, and the debates of twenty-five ſeſſions, they attained the advantage and glory of the re-union of the Greeks. Four principal queſtions had been agitated between the two churches: 1. The uſe of unleavened bread in the communion of Chriſt's body. 2. The nature of purgatory. 3. The ſupremacy of the pope. And, 4. The ſingle or double proceſſion of the Holy Ghoſt. The cauſe of either nation was managed by ten theological champions: the Latins were ſupported by the inexhauſtible eloquence of cardinal Julian; and Mark of Epheſus and Beſſarion of Nice were the bold and able leaders of the Greek forces. We may beſtow ſome praiſe on the progreſs of human reaſon, by obſerving, that the firſt of theſe queſtions was *now* treated as an immaterial rite, which might innocently vary with the faſhion of the age and country. With regard to the ſecond, both parties were agreed in the belief of an intermediate ſtate of purgation for the venial ſins of the faithful; and whether their ſouls were purified by elemental fire was a doubtful point, which in a few years might be conveniently ſettled on the ſpot by the diſputants. The claims of ſupremacy appeared of a more

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The [illegible] number [illegible] of the [illegible] who were [illegible] biſhops of the Weſt, who, expreſsly or tacitly, might accede to its decrees.

[illegible]

weighty and ſubſtantial kind; yet by the Orientals the Roman biſhop had ever been reſpected as the firſt of the five patriarchs; nor did they ſcruple to admit, that his juriſdiction ſhould be exerciſed agreeable to the holy canons; a vague allowance, which might be defined or eluded by occaſional convenience. The proceſſion of the Holy Ghoſt from the Father alone, or from the Father and the Son, was an article of faith which had ſunk much deeper into the minds of men; and in the ſeſſions of Ferrara and Florence, the Latin edition of *filioque* was ſubdivided into two queſtions, whether it were legal, and whether it were orthodox. Perhaps it may not be neceſſary to boaſt on this ſubject of my own impartial indifference; but I muſt think that the Greeks were ſtrongly ſupported by the prohibition of the council of Chalcedon, againſt adding any article whatſoever to the creed of Nice, or rather of Conſtantinople[63]. In earthly affairs, it is not eaſy to conceive how an aſſembly of legiſlators can bind their ſucceſſors inveſted with powers equal to their own. But the dictates of inſpiration muſt be true and unchangeable; nor ſhould a private biſhop, or a provincial ſynod, have preſumed to innovate againſt the judgment of the Catholic church. On the ſubſtance of the doctrine, the controverſy was equal and endleſs: reaſon is confounded by the proceſſion of a deity;

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[63] The Greeks, who diſliked the union, were unwilling to ſally from this ſtrong fortreſs (p. 178. 193. 195. 202. of Syropulus). The ſhame of the Latins was aggravated by their producing an old MS. of the ſecond council of Nice, with *filioque* in the Nicene creed, a palpable forgery! (p. 173.)

the goſpel, which lay on the altar, was ſilent; the various texts of the fathers might be corrupted by fraud or entangled by ſophiſtry; and the Greeks were ignorant of the characters and writings of the Latin ſaints[64]. Of this at leaſt we may be ſure, that neither ſide could be convinced by the arguments of their opponents. Prejudice may be enlightened by reaſon, and a ſuperficial glance may be rectified by a clear and more perfect view of an object adapted to our faculties. But the biſhops and monks had been taught from their infancy to repeat a form of myſterious words; their national and perſonal honour depended on the repetition of the ſame ſounds; and their narrow minds were hardened and inflamed by the acrimony of a public diſpute.

Negociations with the Greeks.

While they were loſt in a cloud of duſt and darkneſs, the pope and emperor were deſirous of a ſeeming union, which could alone accompliſh the purpoſes of their interview; and the obſtinacy of public diſpute was ſoftened by the arts of private and perſonal negociation. The patriarch Joſeph had ſunk under the weight of age and infirmities; his dying voice breathed the counſels of charity and concord, and his vacant benefice might tempt the hopes of the ambitious clergy. The ready and active obedience of the archbiſhops of Ruſſia and Nice, of Iſidore and Beſſarion, was prompted and recompenſed by their ſpeedy promotion to the dignity of cardinals. Beſſarion, in the firſt debates, had ſtood forth the moſt ſtrenuous and eloquent champion of the Greek church; and if the apoſtate, the baſtard, was reprobated by his country[65], he appears in eccleſiaſtical ſtory a rare example of a patriot who was recommended to court-favour by loud oppoſition and well-timed compliance. With the aid of his two ſpiritual coadjutors, the emperor applied his arguments to the general ſituation and perſonal characters of the biſhops, and each was ſucceſſively moved by authority and example. Their revenues were in the hands of the Turks, their perſons in thoſe of the Latins: an epiſcopal treaſure, three robes and forty ducats, was ſoon exhauſted[66]: the hopes of their return ſtill depended on the ſhips of Venice and the alms of Rome; and ſuch was their indigence, that their arrears, the payment of a debt, would be accepted as a favour, and might operate as a bribe[67]. The danger and relief of Conſtantinople might excuſe ſome prudent and pious diſſimulation; and it was inſinuated, that the obſtinate heretics who ſhould reſiſt the conſent of the

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[64] Ὡς ἐμοὶ (ſaid an eminent Greek) ὅταν εἰς ναὸν εἰσέλθω Λατίνων οὐ προσκυνῶ τινὰ τῶν ἐκεῖσε ἁγίων, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ γνωρίζω τινά (Syropulus, p. 109.). See the perplexity of the Greeks (p. 217, 218, 252, 253. 273.).

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[65] See the polite altercation of Mark and Beſſarion in Syropulus (p. 257.), who never diſſembles the vices of his own party, and fairly praiſes the virtues of the Latins.

[66] For the poverty of the Greek biſhops, ſee a remarkable paſſage of Ducas (c. 31.). One had poſſeſſed, for his whole property, three old gowns, &c. By teaching one-and-twenty years in his monaſtery, Beſſarion himſelf had collected forty gold florins; but of theſe, the archbiſhop had expended twenty-eight in his voyage from Peloponneſus, and the remainder at Conſtantinople (Syropulus, p. 127.).

[67] Syropulus denies that the Greeks received any money before they had ſubſcribed the act of union (p. 283.): yet he relates ſome ſuſpicious circumſtances; and their bribery and corruption are poſitively affirmed by the hiſtorian Ducas.

Eaſt and Weſt, would be abandoned in a hoſtile land to the revenge or juſtice of the Roman pontiff[68]. In the firſt private aſſembly of the Greeks, the formulary of union was approved by twenty-four, and rejected by twelve, members: but the five *croſs-bearers* of St. Sophia, who aſpired to repreſent the patriarch, were diſqualified by ancient diſcipline; and their right of voting was transferred to an obſequious train of monks, grammarians, and profane laymen. The will of the monarch produced a falſe and ſervile unanimity, and no more than two patriots had courage to ſpeak their own ſentiments and thoſe of their country. Demetrius, the emperor's brother, retired to Venice, that he might not be witneſs of the union; and Mark of Epheſus, miſtaking perhaps his pride for his conſcience, diſclaimed all communion with the Latin heretics, and avowed himſelf the champion and confeſſor of the orthodox creed[69]. In the treaty between the two nations, ſeveral forms of conſent were propoſed, ſuch as might ſatisfy the Latins, without diſhonouring the Greeks: and they weighed the ſcruples of words and ſyllables, till the theological balance trembled with a ſlight preponderance in favour of the Vatican. It was agreed (I muſt intreat the attention of the reader), that the Holy Ghoſt proceeds from the Father *and* the Son, as from one principle and one ſubſtance; that he proceeds *by* the Son, being of the ſame nature and ſubſtance, and that he proceeds from the Father *and* the Son, by one *ſpiration* and production. It is leſs difficult to underſtand the articles of the preliminary treaty; that the pope ſhould defray all the expences of the Greeks in their return home; that he ſhould annually maintain two gallies and three hundred ſoldiers for the defence of Conſtantinople; that all the ſhips which tranſported pilgrims to Jeruſalem, ſhould be obliged to touch at that port; that as often as they were required, the pope ſhould furniſh ten gallies for a year, or twenty for ſix months; and that he ſhould powerfully ſolicit the princes of Europe, if the emperor had occaſion for land-forces.

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[68] The Greeks moſt piteouſly expreſs their own fears of exile and perpetual ſlavery (Syropul. p. 196.); and they were ſtrongly moved by the emperor's threats (p. 260.).

[69] I had forgot another popular and orthodox proteſter, a favourite hound, who uſually lay quiet on the foot-cloth of the emperor's throne; but who barked moſt furiouſly, while the act of union was reading, without being ſilenced by the ſoothing or the laſhes of the royal attendants (Syropul. p. 265, 266.).

Eugenius is depoſed at Baſil, A. D. 1438. June 25.

The ſame year, and almoſt the ſame day, were marked by the depoſition of Eugenius at Baſil; and, at Florence, by his re-union of the Greeks and Latins. In the former ſynod (which he ſtyled indeed an aſſembly of dæmons), the pope was branded with the guilt of ſimony, perjury, tyranny, hereſy, and ſchiſm[72]; and declared to be incorrigible in his vices, unworthy of any title, and incapable of holding any eccleſiaſtical office. In the latter he was revered as the true and holy vicar of Chriſt, who, after a ſeparation of ſix hundred years, had reconciled the Catholics of the Eaſt

Re-union of the Greeks at Florence, A. D. 1438, July 6.

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[72] From the original Lives of the Popes, in Muratori's Collection (tom. iii. P. ii. tom. xxv.), the manners of Eugenius IV. appear to have been decent, and even exemplary. His ſituation, expoſed to the world and to his enemies, was a reſtraint, and is a pledge.

and Weſt, in one fold, and under one ſhepherd. The act of union was ſubſcribed by the pope, the emperor, and the principal members of both churches; even by thoſe who, like Syropulus[71], had been deprived of the right of voting. Two copies might have ſufficed for the Eaſt and Weſt; but Eugenius was not ſatisfied, unleſs four authentic and ſimilar tranſcripts were ſigned and atteſted as the monuments of his victory[72]. On a memorable day, the ſixth of July, the ſucceſſors of St. Peter and Conſtantine aſcended their thrones; the two nations aſſembled in the cathedral of Florence; their repreſentatives, cardinal Julian and Beſſarion archbiſhop of Nice, appeared in the pulpit, and, after reading in their reſpective tongues the act of union, they mutually embraced in the name and the preſence of their applauding brethren. The pope and his miniſters then officiated according to the Roman liturgy; the creed was chaunted with the addition of *filioque*; the acquieſcence of the Greeks was poorly excuſed by their ignorance of the harmonious, but inarticulate,

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[71] Syropulus, rather than ſubſcribe, would have aſſiſted, as the leaſt evil, at the ceremony of the union. He was compelled to do both; and the great eccleſiarch poorly excuſes his ſubmiſſion to the emperor (p. 290—292.).

[72] None of theſe original acts of union can at preſent be produced. Of the ten MSS. that are preſerved (five at Rome, and the remainder at Florence, Bologna, Venice, Paris, and London), nine have been examined by an accurate critic (M. de Brequigny), who condemns them for the variety and imperfections of the Greek ſignatures. Yet ſeveral of theſe may be eſteemed as authentic copies, which were ſubſcribed at Florence before (26th of Auguſt 1439) the final ſeparation of the pope and emperor (Memoires de l'Academie des Inſcriptions, tom. xliii. p. 287—311.).

culate, ſounds[73]; and the more ſcrupulous Latins refuſed any public celebration of the Byzantine rite. Yet the emperor and his clergy were not totally unmindful of national honour. The treaty was ratified by their conſent: it was tacitly agreed that no innovation ſhould be attempted in their creed or ceremonies; they ſpared, and ſecretly reſpected, the generous firmneſs of Mark of Epheſus; and, on the deceaſe of the patriarch, they refuſed to elect his ſucceſſor, except in the cathedral of St. Sophia. In the diſtribution of public and private rewards, the liberal pontiff exceeded their hopes and his promiſes: the Greeks, with leſs pomp and pride, returned by the ſame road of Ferrara and Venice; and their reception at Conſtantinople was ſuch as will be deſcribed in the following chapter[74]. The ſucceſs of the firſt trial encouraged Eugenius to repeat the ſame edifying ſcenes; and the deputies of the Armenians, the Maronites, the Jacobites of Syria and Egypt, the Neſtorians and the Æthiopians, were ſucceſſively introduced, to kiſs the feet of the Roman pontiff, and to announce the obedience and the orthodoxy of the Eaſt. Theſe Oriental embaſſies, unknown in the countries which they preſumed to repreſent[75], diffuſed over the Weſt the fame of Euge-

Their return to Conſtantinople, A. D. 1440, Feb. 1

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[73] Ἦσαν δε ὡς ασημοι εδοκουν φωναι (Syropul. p. 297.)

[74] In their return, the Greeks converſed at Bologna with the ambaſſadors of England; and after ſome queſtions and anſwers, theſe impartial ſtrangers laughed at the pretended union of Florence (Syropul. p. 307.).

[75] So nugatory, or rather ſo fabulous, are theſe reunions of the Neſtorians, Jacobites, &c. that I have turned over, without ſucceſs, the Bibliotheca Orientalis of Aſſemannus, a faithful ſlave of the Vatican.

nius: and a clamour was artfully propagated againſt the remnant of a ſchiſm in Switzerland and Savoy, which alone impeded the harmony of the Chriſtian world. The vigour of oppoſition was ſucceeded by the laſſitude of deſpair: the council of Baſil was ſilently diſſolved; and Fœlix, renouncing the tiara, again withdrew to the devout or delicious hermitage of Ripaille[76]. A general peace was ſecured by mutual acts of oblivion and indemnity: all ideas of reformation ſubſided; the popes continued to exerciſe and abuſe their eccleſiaſtical deſpotiſm; nor has Rome been ſince diſturbed by the miſchiefs of a conteſted election[77].

Final peace of the church, A. D. 1449.

State of the Greek language at Conſtantinople, A. D. 1300—1453.

The journies of three emperors were unavailing for their temporal, or perhaps their ſpiritual, ſalvation; but they were productive of a beneficial conſequence; the revival of the Greek learning in Italy, from whence it was propagated to the laſt nations of the Weſt and North. In their loweſt ſervitude and depreſſion, the ſubjects of the Byzantine throne were ſtill poſſeſſed of a golden key that could unlock the treaſures of antiquity; of a muſical and prolific language, that gives a ſoul to the objects of ſenſe, and a body to the abſtractions of philoſophy. Since the barriers of the monarchy, and even of the capital, had been trampled under foot, the various Barbarians had doubtleſs corrupted the form and ſubſtance of the national dialect; and ample gloſſaries have been compoſed, to interpret a multitude of words of Arabic, Turkiſh, Sclavonian, Latin, or French origin[78]. But a purer idiom was ſpoken in the court and taught in the college; and the flouriſhing ſtate of the language is deſcribed, and perhaps embelliſhed, by a learned Italian[79], who, by a long reſidence and noble marriage[80], was naturalized at Conſtantinople about thirty years before the Turkiſh conqueſt. "The vulgar ſpeech," ſays Philelphus [*], "has been depraved by the people, and "infected by the multitude of ſtrangers and merchants, who every day flock to the city and "mingle with the inhabitants. It is from the "diſciples of ſuch a ſchool that the Latin language received the verſions of Ariſtotle and "Plato; ſo obſcure in ſenſe, and in ſpirit ſo "poor. But the Greeks who have eſcaped the "contagion, are thoſe whom *we* follow; and they "alone are worthy of our imitation. In familiar "diſcourſe, they ſtill ſpeak the tongue of Ariſtophanes and Euripides, of the hiſtorians and philoſophers of Athens; and the ſtyle of their "writings is ſtill more elaborate and correct. "The perſons who, by their birth and offices, are "attached to the Byzantine court, are thoſe who "maintain, with the leaſt alloy, the ancient "ſtandard of elegance and purity; and the native graces of language moſt conſpicuouſly ſhine "among the noble matrons, who are excluded "from all intercourſe with foreigners. With "foreigners do I ſay? They live retired and ſequeſtered from the eyes of their fellow-citizens. "Seldom are they ſeen in the ſtreets; and when "they leave their houſes, it is in the duſk of

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[76] Ripaille is ſituate near Thonon in Savoy, on the ſouthern ſide of the lake of Geneva. It is now a Carthuſian abbey; and Mr. Addiſon (Travels into Italy, vol. ii. p. 147. 148. of Baſkerville's edition of his works) has celebrated the place and the founder. Æneas Sylvius, and the fathers of Baſil, applaud the auſtere life of the ducal hermit: but the French and Italian proverbs moſt unluckily atteſt the popular opinion of his luxury.

[77] In this account of the councils of Baſil, Ferrara, and Florence, I have conſulted the original acts, which fill the xviith and xviiith tomes of the edition of Venice, and are cloſed by the perſpicuous, though partial, hiſtory of Auguſtin Patricius, an Italian of the xvth century. They are digeſted and abridged by Dupin (Bibliothèque Eccléſ. tom. xii.), and the continuator of Fleury (tom. xxii.); and the reſpect of the Gallican church for the adverſe parties confines their members to an awkward moderation.

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[78] In the firſt attempt, Meurſius collected 3600 Græco-barbarous words, to which, in a ſecond edition, he ſubjoined 1800 more; yet what plenteous gleanings did he leave to Portius, Ducange, Fabrotti, the Bollandiſts, &c. (Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. x. p. 101, &c.) *Some* Perſic words may be found in Xenophon, and ſome Latin ones in Plutarch; and ſuch is the inevitable effect of war and commerce: but the form and ſubſtance of the language were not affected by this ſlight alloy.

[79] The life of Francis Philephus, a ſophiſt, proud, reſtleſs, and rapacious, has been diligently compoſed by Lancelot (Memoires de l'Academie des Inſcriptions, tom. x. p. 691—751.) and Tiraboſchi (Iſtoria della Letteratura Italiana, tom. vii. p. 282—294.), for the moſt part from his own letters. His elaborate writings, and thoſe of his contemporaries, are forgotten: but their familiar epiſtles ſtill deſcribe the men and the times.

[80] He married, and had perhaps debauched, the daughter of John, and the grand-daughter of Manuel Chryſoloras. She was young, beautiful, and wealthy; and her noble family was allied to the Dorias of Genoa and the emperors of Conſtantinople.

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[*] Græci [illegible] . . . . ita loquuntur [illegible] comicus, aut Euri- [illegible] philoſophi . . . . [illegible] . . . . Nam [illegible] retine- [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] ad ann. [illegible] [illegible]

"evening, on viſits to the churches and their "neareſt kindred. On theſe occaſions, they are "on horſeback, covered with a veil, and en"compaſſed by their parents, their huſbands, or "their ſervants[82]."

Compariſon of the Greeks and Latins.

Among the Greeks, a numerous and opulent clergy was dedicated to the ſervice of religion: their monks and biſhops have ever been diſtinguiſhed by the gravity and auſterity of their manners; nor were they diverted, like the Latin prieſts, by the purſuits and pleaſures of a ſecular, and even military, life. After a large deduction for the time and talents that were loſt in the devotion, the lazineſs, and the diſcord, of the church and cloyſter, the more inquiſitive and ambitious minds would explore the ſacred and profane erudition of their native language. The eccleſiaſtics preſided over the education of youth; the ſchools of philoſophy and eloquence were perpetuated till the fall of the empire; and it may be affirmed, that more books and more knowledge were included within the walls of Conſtantinople than could be diſperſed over the extenſive countries of the Weſt[83]. But an important diſtinction has been already noticed: the Greeks were ſtationary or retrograde, while the Latins were advancing with a rapid and progreſſive motion. The nations were excited by the ſpirit of independence and emulation; and even the little world of the Italian ſtates contained more people and induſtry than the decreaſing circle of the Byzantine empire. In Europe, the lower ranks of ſociety were relieved from the yoke of feudal ſervitude; and freedom is the firſt ſtep to curioſity and knowledge. The uſe, however rude and corrupt, of the Latin tongue had been preſerved by ſuperſtition, the univerſities, from Bologna to Oxford[84], were peopled with thouſands of ſcholars; and their miſguided ardour might be directed to more liberal and manly ſtudies. In the reſurrection of ſcience, Italy was the firſt that caſt away her ſhroud; and the eloquent Petrarch, by his leſſons and his example, may juſtly be applauded as the firſt harbinger of day. A purer ſtyle of compoſition, a more generous and rational ſtrain of ſentiment, flowed from the ſtudy and imitation of the writers of ancient Rome; and the diſciples of Cicero and Virgil approached, with reverence and love, the ſanctuary of their Grecian maſters. In the ſack of Conſtantinople, the French, and even the Venetians, had deſpiſed and deſtroyed the works of Lyſippus and Homer: the monuments of art may be annihilated by a ſingle blow; but the immortal mind is renewed and multiplied by the copies of the pen; and ſuch copies it was the ambition of Petrarch and his friends to poſſeſs and underſtand. The arms of the Turks undoubtedly preſſed the flight of the muſes; yet we may tremble at the thought, that Greece might have been overwhelmed, with her ſchools and libraries, before Europe had emerged from the deluge of barbariſm; that the ſeeds of ſcience might have been ſcattered by the winds, before the Italian ſoil was prepared for their cultivation.

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[82] Philelphus, abſurdly enough, derives this Greek or Oriental jealouſy from the manners of ancient Rome.

[83] See the ſtate of learning in the xiiith and xivth centuries, in the learned and judicious Moſheim (Inſtitut. Hiſt. Eccleſ. p. 434—440. 490—494.).

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[84] At the end of the xvth century, there exiſted in Europe about fifty univerſities, and of theſe the foundation of ten or twelve is prior to the year 1300. They were crowded in proportion to their ſcarcity. Bologna contained 10,000 ſtudents, chiefly of the civil law. In the year 1357 the number at Oxford had decreaſed from 30,000 to 6000 ſcholars (Henry's Hiſtory of Great Britain, vol. iv. p. 478). Yet even this decreaſe is much ſuperior to the preſent liſt of the members of the univerſity.

Revival of the Greek learning in Italy.

The moſt learned Italians of the fifteenth century have confeſſed and applauded the reſtoration of Greek literature, after a long oblivion of many hundred years [85]. Yet in that country, and beyond the Alps, ſome names are quoted; ſome profound ſcholars, who in the darker ages were honourably diſtinguiſhed by their knowledge of the Greek tongue; and national vanity has been loud in the praiſe of ſuch rare examples of erudition. Without ſcrutinizing the merit of individuals, truth muſt obſerve that their ſcience is without a cauſe, and without an effect; that it was eaſy for them to ſatisfy themſelves and their more ignorant contemporaries; and that the idiom, which they had ſo marvellouſly acquired, was tranſcribed in few manuſcripts, and was not taught in any univerſity of the Weſt. In a corner of Italy, it faintly exiſted as the popular, or at leaſt as the eccleſiaſtical, dialect[86]. The firſt impreſſion of the Doric and Ionic colonies has never been completely erazed: the Calabrian churches were long attached to the throne of Conſtantinople; and the monks of St. Baſil purſued their ſtudies in mount Athos and the ſchools of the Eaſt. Calabria was the native country of Barlaam, who has already appeared as a ſectary and an ambaſſador; and Barlaam was the firſt who revived, beyond the Alps, the memory, or at leaſt the writings, of Homer[87]. He is deſcribed, by Petrarch and Boccace[88], as a man of a diminutive ſtature, though truly great in the meaſure of learning and genius; of a piercing diſcernment, though of a ſlow and painful elocution. For many ages (as they affirm) Greece had not produced his equal in the knowledge of hiſtory, grammar, and philoſophy; and his merit was celebrated in the atteſtations of the princes and doctors of Conſtantinople. One of theſe atteſtations is ſtill extant; and the emperor Cantacuzene, the protector of his adverſaries, is forced to allow that Euclid, Ariſtotle, and Plato,

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[85] Of thoſe writers who profeſſedly treat of the reſtoration of the Greek learning in Italy, the two principal are Hodius, Dr. Humphrey Hody (de Græcis Illuſtribus, Linguæ Græcæ Literarumque humaniorum Inſtauratoribus; Londini, 1742, in large octavo), and Tiraboſchi (Iſtoria della Letteratura Italiana, tom. v. p. 364—377. tom. vii p. 112—143.). The Oxford profeſſor is a laborious ſcholar, but the librarian of Modena enjoys the ſuperiority of a modern and national hiſtorian.

Leſſons of Barlaam, A. D. 1339.

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[86] In Calabria quæ olim magna Græcia dicebatur, coloniis Græcis repleta, remanſit quædam linguæ veteris cognitio (Hodius, p. 2.). If it were eradicated by the Romans, it was revived and perpetuated by the monks of St. Baſil, who poſſeſſed ſeven convents at Roſſano alone (Giannone, Iſtoria di Napoli, tom. i. p. 520.).

[87] Ii Barbari (ſays Petrarch, the French and Germans) vix, non dicam libros ſed nomen Homeri audiverunt. Perhaps, in that reſpect, the xiiith century was leſs happy than the age of Charlemagne.

[88] See the character of Barlaam, in Boccace de Geneal. Deorum, l. xv. c. 6.

were familiar to that profound and ſubtle logician[89]. In the court of Avignon, he formed an intimate connection with Petrarch[90], the firſt of the Latin ſcholars; and the deſire of mutual inſtruction was the principle of their literary commerce. The Tuſcan applied himſelf with eager curioſity and aſſiduous diligence to the ſtudy of the Greek language; and in a laborious ſtruggle with the dryneſs and difficulty of the firſt rudiments, he began to reach the ſenſe, and to feel the ſpirit, of poets and philoſophers, whoſe minds were congenial to his own. But he was ſoon deprived of the ſociety and leſſons of this uſeful aſſiſtant: Barlaam relinquiſhed his fruitleſs embaſſy; and, on his return to Greece, he raſhly provoked the ſwarms of fanatic monks, by attempting to ſubſtitute the light of reaſon to that of their navel. After a ſeparation of three years, the two friends again met in the court of Naples; but the generous pupil renounced the faireſt occaſion of improvement; and by his recommendation Barlaam was finally ſettled in a ſmall biſhopric of his native Calabria[91]. The manifold avocations of Petrarch, love and friendſhip, his

Studies of Petrarch, A. D. 1339—1374.

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[89] Cantacuzen. l. ii. c. 36.

[90] For the connection of Petrarch and Barlaam, and the two interviews at Avignon in 1339, and at Naples in 1342, ſee the excellent Memoires ſur la Vie de Petrarque, tom. i. p. 406—410. tom. ii. p. 75—77.

[91] The biſhopric to which Barlaam retired, was the old Locri, in the middle ages Scta Cyriaca, and by corruption Hieracium, Gerace (Diſſert. Chorographica Italiæ medii Ævi, p. 312.). The dives opum of the Norman times ſoon lapſed into poverty, ſince even the church was poor: yet the town ſtill contains 3000 inhabitants (Swinburne, p. 340.).

various correſpondence and frequent journies, the Roman laurel, and his elaborate compoſitions in proſe and verſe, in Latin and Italian, diverted him from a foreign idiom; and as he advanced in life, the attainment of the Greek language was the object of his wiſhes, rather than of his hopes. When he was about fifty years of age, a Byzantine ambaſſador, his friend, and a maſter of both tongues, preſented him with a copy of Homer; and the anſwer of Petrarch is at once expreſſive of his eloquence, gratitude, and regret. After celebrating the generoſity of the donor, and the value of a gift more precious in his eſtimation than gold or rubies, he thus proceeds: "Your preſent of the genuine and original text "of the divine poet, the fountain of all invention, "is worthy of yourſelf and of me: you have "fulfilled your promiſe, and ſatisfied my deſires. "Yet your liberality is ſtill imperfect: with "Homer you ſhould have given me yourſelf; a "guide, who could lead me into the fields of "light, and diſcloſe to my wondering eyes the "ſpecious miracles of the Iliad and Odyſſey. "But, alas! Homer is dumb, or I am deaf; nor "is it in my power to enjoy the beauty which I "poſſeſs. I have ſeated him by the ſide of Plato, "the prince of poets near the prince of philoſo-"phers; and I glory in the ſight of my illuſtrious "gueſts. Of their immortal writings, whatever "had been tranſlated into the Latin idiom, I had "already acquired; but if there be no profit, "there is ſome pleaſure, in beholding theſe "venerable Greeks in their proper and national "habit. I am delighted with the aſpect of

"Homer; and as often as I embrace the ſilent "volume, I exclaim with a ſigh, Illuſtrious bard! "with what pleaſure ſhould I liſten to thy ſong, "if my ſenſe of hearing were not obſtructed and "loſt by the death of one friend, and in the "much lamented abſence of another. Nor do I "yet deſpair; and the example of Cato ſuggeſts "ſome comfort and hope, ſince it was in the laſt "period of age that he attained the knowledge of "the Greek letters[92]."

Of Boccace, A.D. 1360, &c.

The prize which eluded the efforts of Petrarch, was obtained by the fortune and induſtry of his friend Boccace[93], the father of the Tuſcan proſe. That popular writer, who derives his reputation from the Decameron, an hundred novels of pleaſantry and love, may aſpire to the more ſerious praiſe of reſtoring in Italy the ſtudy of the Greek language. In the year one thouſand three hundred and ſixty, a diſciple of Barlaam, whoſe name was Leo, or Leontius Pilatus, was detained in his way to Avignon by the advice and hoſpitality of Boccace, who lodged the ſtranger in

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[92] I will tranſcribe a paſſage from this epiſtle of Petrarch (Famil. ix. 2.) Donaſti Homerum non in alienum ſermonem violento alveo derivatum, ſed ex ipſis Græci eloquii ſcatebris, et qualis divino illi profluxit ingenio . . . . Sine tuâ voce Homerus tuus apud me mutus, immo vero ego apud illum ſurdus ſum. Gaudeo tamen vel adſpectû ſolo, ac ſæpe illum amplexus atque ſuſpirans dico, O magne vir, &c.

[93] For the life and writings of Boccace, who was born in 1313, and died in 1375, Fabricius (Bibliot. Latin. medii Ævi, tom. i. p. 248, &c.) and Tiraboſchi (tom. v. p. 83. 439—451.) may be conſulted. The editions, verſions, imitations of his novels, are innumerable. Yet he was aſhamed to communicate that trifling, and perhaps ſcandalous, work to Petrarch his reſpectable friend, in whoſe letters and memorials he conſpicuouſly appears.

Leo Pilatus, firſt Greek profeſſor at Florence, and in the Weſt, A. D. 1360—1363.

his houſe, prevailed on the republic of Florence to allow him an annual ſtipend, and devoted his leiſure to the firſt Greek profeſſor, who taught that language in the Weſtern countries of Europe. The appearance of Leo might diſguſt the moſt eager diſciple; he was cloathed in the mantle of a philoſopher, or a mendicant; his countenance was hideous; his face was overſhadowed with black hair; his beard long and uncombed; his deportment ruſtic; his temper gloomy and inconſtant; nor could he grace his diſcourſe with the ornaments, or even the perſpicuity, of Latin elocution. But his mind was ſtored with a treaſure of Greek learning: hiſtory and fable, philoſophy and grammar, were alike at his command; and he read the poems of Homer in the ſchools of Florence. It was from his explanation that Boccace compoſed and tranſcribed a literal proſe verſion of the Iliad and Odyſſey, which ſatisfied the thirſt of his friend Petrarch, and which perhaps, in the ſucceeding century, was clandeſtinely uſed by Laurentius Valla, the Latin interpreter. It was from his narratives that the ſame Boccace collected the materials for his treatiſe on the genealogy of the heathen gods, a work, in that age, of ſtupendous erudition, and which he oſtentatiouſly ſprinkled with Greek characters and paſſages, to excite the wonder and applauſe of his more ignorant readers[54]. The firſt ſteps of learning are ſlow and laborious; no more than ten votaries of Homer could be enumerated in all Italy; and neither Rome, nor Venice, nor Naples, could add a ſingle name to this ſtudious catalogue. But their numbers would have multiplied, their progreſs would have been accelerated, if the inconſtant Leo, at the end of three years, had not relinquiſhed an honourable and beneficial ſtation. In his paſſage, Petrarch entertained him at Padua a ſhort time; he enjoyed the ſcholar, but was juſtly offended with the gloomy and unſocial temper of the man. Diſcontented with the world and with himſelf, Leo depreciated his preſent enjoyments, while abſent perſons and objects were dear to his imagination. In Italy he was a Theſſalian, in Greece a native of Calabria; in the company of the Latins he diſdained their language, religion, and manner; no ſooner was he landed at Conſtantinople, than he again ſighed for the wealth of Venice and the elegance of Florence. His Italian friends were deaf to his importunity; he depended on their curioſity and indulgence, and embarked on a ſecond voyage; but on his entrance into the Adriatic, the ſhip was aſſailed by a tempeſt, and the unfortunate teacher, who like Ulyſſes had faſtened himſelf to the maſt, was ſtruck dead by a flaſh of lightning. The humane Petrarch dropt a tear on his diſaſter; but he was moſt anxious to learn whether ſome copy of Euripides or Sophocles might not be ſaved from the hands of the mariners[97].

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[54] Boccace indulges an honeſt vanity: Oſtentationis cauſâ Græca carmina adſcripſi . . . . jure utor meo; meum eſt hoc decus, mea gloria ſcilicet inter Etruſcos Græcis uti carminibus. Nonne ego fui qui Leontium Pilatum, &c. (de Genealogiâ Deorum, l. xv. c. 7. a work which, though now forgotten, has run through thirteen or fourteen editions.)

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[97] Leontius, or Leo Pilatus, is ſufficiently made known by Hody (p. 2—11.), and the Abbé de Sade (Vie de Petrarque, tom.

Foundation of the Greek language in Italy by Manuel Chryſoloras, A.D. 1390—1415.

But the faint rudiments of Greek learning, which Petrarch had encouraged and Boccace had planted, ſoon withered and expired. The ſucceeding generation was content for a while with the improvement of Latin eloquence: nor was it before the end of the fourteenth century, that a new and perpetual flame was rekindled in Italy[96]. Previous to his own journey, the emperor Manuel diſpatched his envoys and orators to implore the compaſſion of the Weſtern princes. Of theſe envoys, the moſt conſpicuous, or the moſt learned, was Manuel Chryſoloras[97], of noble birth, and whoſe Roman anceſtors are ſuppoſed to have migrated with the great Conſtantine. After viſiting the courts of France and England, where he obtained ſome contributions and more promiſes, the envoy was invited to aſſume the office of a profeſſor; and Florence had again the honour of this ſecond invitation. By his knowledge, not only of the Greek, but of the Latin, tongue, Chryſoloras deſerved the ſtipend, and ſurpaſſed the expectation, of the republic: his ſchool was frequented by a crowd of diſciples of every rank

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[illegible] (A.D. [illegible]), who has very happily caught the [illegible].

[96] Dr. Hody (p. 54.) [illegible] with Leonard Aretin, Guarinus, Paulus Jovius, &c. [illegible], that the Greek letters were [illegible] in Italy [illegible], as if, ſays he, they had flouriſhed till the end of the [illegible] century. Theſe writers moſt probably [illegible] the laſt period of the exarchate; and the preſence of the Greek [illegible] at [illegible] and Rome, muſt have preſerved, to ſome degree, the uſe of their native tongue.

[97] See the article of Emanuel, or Manuel Chryſoloras, in Hody (p. 12—54.), and Tiraboſchi (tom. vii. p. 113—118.). The preciſe date of his arrival [illegible] between the years 1390 and 1400, and is only confined by the reign of Boniface IX.

and age; and one of theſe, in a general hiſtory, has deſcribed his motives and his ſucceſs. "At "that time," ſays Leonard Aretin[98], "I was a "ſtudent of the civil law; but my ſoul was in- "flamed with the love of letters; and I be- "ſtowed ſome application on the ſciences of lo- "gic and rhetoric. On the arrival of Manuel, "I heſitated whether I ſhould deſert my legal "ſtudies, or relinquiſh this golden opportunity; "and thus, in the ardour of youth, I communed "with my own mind—Wilt thou be wanting "to thyſelf and thy fortune? Wilt thou refuſe "to be introduced to a familiar converſe with "Homer, Plato, and Demoſthenes? with thoſe "poets, philoſophers, and orators, of whom "ſuch wonders are related, and who are cele- "brated by every age as the great maſters of "human ſcience? Of profeſſors and ſcholars in "civil law, a ſufficient ſupply will always be "found in our univerſities; but a teacher, and "ſuch a teacher, of the Greek language, if he "once be ſuffered to eſcape, may never after- "wards be retrieved. Convinced by theſe reaſons, "I gave myſelf to Chryſoloras; and ſo ſtrong "was my paſſion, that the leſſons which I had "imbibed in the day were the conſtant ſubject of

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[98] The name of *Aretinus* has been aſſumed by five or ſix natives of *Arezzo* in Tuſcany, of whom the moſt famous and the moſt worthleſs lived in the xvith century. Leonardus Brunus Aretinus, the diſciple of Chryſoloras, was a linguiſt, an orator, and an hiſtorian, the ſecretary of four ſucceſſive popes, and the chancellor of the republic of Florence, where he died A. D. 1444, at the age of ſeventy-five (Fabric. Bibliot. medii Ævi, tom. i. p. 190, &c. Tiraboſchi, tom. vii. p. 33—38.).

"my nightly dreams[99]." At the ſame time and place, the Latin claſſics were explained by John of Ravenna, the domeſtic pupil of Petrarch[100]: the Italians, who illuſtrated their age and country, were formed in this double ſchool; and Florence became the fruitful ſeminary of Greek and Roman erudition[101]. The preſence of the emperor recalled Chryſoloras from the college to the court; but he afterwards taught at Pavia and Rome with equal induſtry and applauſe. The remainder of his life, about fifteen years, was divided between Italy and Conſtantinople, between embaſſies and leſſons. In the noble office of enlightening a foreign nation, the grammarian was not unmindful of a more ſacred duty to his prince and country; and Emanuel Chryſoloras died at Conſtance on a public miſſion from the emperor to the council.

The Greeks in Italy. A.D. 1400—1500.

After his example, the reſtoration of the Greek letters in Italy was proſecuted by a ſeries of emigrants, who were deſtitute of fortune, and endowed with learning, or at leaſt with language.

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[99] See the paſſage in Aretin. Commentario Rerum ſuo Tempore in Italia geſtarum, apud Hodium, p. 28—30.

[100] In this domeſtic diſcipline, Petrarch, who loved the youth, often complains of the eager curioſity, reſtleſs temper, and proud feelings, which announce the genius and glory of a riper age (Mémoires ſur Petrarque, tom. iii. p. 700—709).

[101] Hinc Græcæ Latinæque ſcholæ exortæ ſunt, Guarino Philelpho, Leonardo Aretino, Caroloque, ac plerique aliis tanquam ex equo Trojano prodeuntibus, quorum æmulatione multa ingenia deinceps ad laudem excitata ſunt (Platina in Bonifacio IX.) Another Italian writer adds the names of Paulus Petrus Vergerius, Omnibonus Vincentius, Poggius, Franciſcus Barbarus, &c. But I queſtion whether a rigid chronology would allow Chryſoloras all these eminent ſcholars (Hody, p. 25—27, &c.).

From the terror or oppreſſion of the Turkiſh arms, the natives of Theſſalonica and Conſtantinople eſcaped to a land of freedom, curioſity, and wealth. The ſynod introduced into Florence the lights of the Greek church and the oracles of the Platonic philoſophy: and the fugitives who adhered to the union, had the double merit of renouncing their country, not only for the Chriſtian, but for the Catholic, cauſe. A patriot, who ſacrifices his party and conſcience to the allurements of favour, may be poſſeſſed however of the private and ſocial virtues: he no longer hears the reproachful epithets of ſlave and apoſtate; and the conſideration which he acquires among his new aſſociates will reſtore in his own eyes the dignity of his character. The prudent conformity of Beſſarion was rewarded with the Roman purple: he fixed his reſidence in Italy; and the Greek cardinal, the titular patriarch of Conſtantinople, was reſpected as the chief and protector of his nation[102]: his abilities were exerciſed in the legations of Bologna, Venice, Germany, and France; and his election to the chair of St. Peter floated for a moment on the uncertain breath of a conclave[103]. His eccleſiaſtical honours diffuſed a ſplendour and pre-eminence over his literary merit and ſervice:

Cardinal Beſſarion, &c.

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[102] See in Hody the article of Beſſarion (p. 136—177): Theodore Gaza, George of Trebizond, and the reſt of the Greeks whom I have named or omitted, are inſerted in their proper chapters of his learned work. See likewiſe Tiraboſchi, in the 1ſt and 2d parts of the vith tome.

[103] The cardinals knocked at his door, but his conclaviſt refuſed to interrupt the ſtudies of Beſſarion. "Nicholas," ſaid he, "thy "reſpect has coſt thee an hat, and me the tiara."

his palace was a ſchool; as often as the cardinal viſited the Vatican, he was attended by a learned train of both nations[124]; of men applauded by themſelves and the public; and whoſe writings, now overſpread with duſt, were popular and uſeful in their own times. I ſhall not attempt to enumerate the reſtorers of Grecian literature in the fifteenth century: and it may be ſufficient to mention with gratitude the names of Theodore Gaza, of George of Trebizond, of John Argyropulus, and Demetrius Chalcocondyles, who taught their native language in the ſchools of Florence and Rome. Their labours were not inferior to thoſe of Beſſarion, whoſe purple they revered, and whoſe fortune was the ſecret object of their envy. But the lives of theſe grammarians were humble and obſcure: they had declined the lucrative paths of the church; their dreſs and manners ſecluded them from the commerce of the world; and ſince they were confined to the merit, they might be content with the rewards, of learning. From this character, Janus Laſcaris[125] will deſerve an exception. His eloquence, politeneſs, and Im-

Their faults and merits.

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[124] Such as George of Trebizond, Theodore Gaza, Argyropulus, Andronicus of Theſſalonica, Philelphus, Poggius, Blondus, Nicholas Perrot, Valla, Campanus, Platina, &c. Viri (ſays Hody, with the pious zeal of a ſcholar) nullo ævo perituri (p. 156.).

[125] He was born before the taking of Conſtantinople, but his honourable life was ſtretched far into the xvith century (A.D. 1535). Leo X. and Francis I. were his nobleſt patrons, under whoſe auſpices he founded the Greek colleges of Rome and Paris (Hody, p. 247—275.). He left poſterity in France; but the counts de Vintimille, and their numerous branches, derive the name of Laſcaris from a doubtful marriage in the xiiith century with the daughter of a Greek emperor (Ducange, Fam. Byzant. p. 224—230.).

perial deſcent, recommended him to the French monarchs; and in the ſame cities he was alternately employed to teach and to negociate. Duty and intereſt prompted them to cultivate the ſtudy of the Latin language; and the moſt ſucceſsful attained the faculty of writing and ſpeaking with fluency and elegance in a foreign idiom. But they ever retained the inveterate vanity of their country: their praiſe, or at leaſt their eſteem, was reſerved for the national writers, to whom they owed their fame and ſubſiſtence; and they ſometimes betrayed their contempt in licentious criticiſm or ſatire on Virgil's poetry and the oratory of Tully[106]. The ſuperiority of theſe maſters aroſe from the familiar uſe of a living language; and their firſt diſciples were incapable of diſcerning how far they had degenerated from the knowledge, and even the practice, of their anceſtors. A vicious pronunciation[107], which they introduced,

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[106] Two of his epigrams againſt Virgil, and three againſt Tully, are preſerved and refuted by Franciſcus Floridus, who can find no better names than Græculus ineptus et impudens (Hody, p. 274.). In our own times, an Engliſh critic has accuſed the Æneid of containing multa languida, nugatoria, ſpiritû et majeſtate carminis heroici defecta; many ſuch verſes as he, the ſaid Jeremiah Markland, would have been aſhamed of owning (præfat. ad Statii Sylvas, p. 21, 22.).

[107] Emanuel Chryſoloras, and his colleagues, are accuſed of ignorance, envy, or avarice (Sylloge, &c. tom. ii. p. 235.). The modern Greek pronounce the β as a V conſonant, and confound three vowels (η ι υ), and ſeveral diphthongs. Such was the vulgar pronunciation which the ſtern Gardiner maintained by penal ſtatutes in the univerſity of Cambridge: but the monoſyllable βη repreſented to an Attic ear the bleating of ſheep; and a bellwether is better evidence than a biſhop or a chancellor. The treatiſes of thoſe ſcholars, particularly Eraſmus, who aſſerted a more claſſical pronunciation, are collected in the Sylloge of Ha-

vercamp

duced, was baniſhed from the ſchools by the reaſon of the ſucceeding age. Of the power of the Greek accents they were ignorant: and thoſe muſical notes, which, from an Attic tongue, and to an Attic ear, muſt have been the ſecret ſoul of harmony, were to their eyes, as to our own, no more than mute and unmeaning marks; in proſe ſuperfluous, and troubleſome in verſe. The art of grammar they truly poſſeſſed: the valuable fragments of Apollonius and Herodian were tranſfuſed into their leſſons; and their treatiſes of ſyntax and etymology, though devoid of philoſophic ſpirit, are ſtill uſeful to the Greek ſtudent. In the ſhipwreck of the Byzantine libraries, each fugitive ſeized a fragment of treaſure, a copy of ſome author, who, without his induſtry, might have periſhed; the tranſcripts were multiplied by an aſſiduous, and ſometimes an elegant, pen; and the text was corrected and explained by their own comments, or thoſe of the elder ſcholiaſts. The ſenſe, though not the ſpirit, of the Greek claſſics, was interpreted to the Latin world: the beauties of ſtyle evaporate in a verſion; but the judgment of Theodore Gaza ſelected the more ſolid works of Ariſtotle and Theophraſtus, and their natural hiſtories of animals and plants opened a rich fund of genuine and experimental ſcience.

Yet the fleeting ſhadows of metaphyſics were purſued with more curioſity and ardour. After a

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[illegible] 1526, 1489). But it is [illegible]; [illegible] pronounce [illegible], [illegible]. We [illegible] approved [illegible] long oblivion, Plato was revived in Italy by a venerable Greek [108], who taught in the houſe of Coſimo of Medicis. While the ſynod of Florence was involved in theological debate, ſome beneficial conſequences might flow from the ſtudy of his elegant philoſophy; his ſtyle is the pureſt ſtandard of the Attic dialect; and his ſublime thoughts are ſometimes adapted to familiar converſation, and ſometimes adorned with the richeſt colours of poetry and eloquence. The dialogues of Plato are a dramatic picture of the life and death of a ſage; and as often as he deſcends from the clouds, his moral ſyſtem inculcates the love of truth, of our country, and of mankind. The precept and example of Socrates recommended a modeſt doubt and liberal inquiry: and if the Platoniſts, with blind devotion, adored the viſions and errors of their divine maſter, their enthuſiaſm might correct the dry, dogmatic method of the Peripatetic ſchool. So equal, yet ſo oppoſite, are the merits of Plato and Ariſtotle, that they may be balanced in endleſs controverſy, but ſome ſpark of freedom may be produced by the colliſion of adverſe ſervitude. The modern Greeks were divided between the two ſects: with more fury than ſkill they fought under the banner of their leaders; and the field of battle was removed in their flight from Conſtantinople to Rome. But this philoſophical debate ſoon degenerated into an angry and perſonal quarrel of grammarians; and Beſſarion, though an advocate for Plato, protected the national honour, by interpoſing the advice and authority of a mediator. In the gardens of the Medici, the academical doctrine was enjoyed by the polite and learned: but their philoſophic ſociety was quickly diſſolved; and if the writings of the Attic ſage were peruſed in the cloſet, the more powerful Stagyrite continued to reign the oracle of the church and ſchool[109].

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[108] George Gemiſtus Pletho, a various and voluminous writer, the maſter of Beſſarion, and all the Platoniſts of the times. He viſited Italy in his old age, and ſoon returned to end his days in Peloponneſus. See the curious Diatribe of Leo Allatius de Georgiis, in Fabricius (Bibliot. Græc. tom. x. p. 739—756.).

Emulation and progreſs of the Latins.

I have fairly repreſented the literary merits of the Greeks; yet it muſt be confeſſed that they were ſeconded and ſurpaſſed by the ardour of the Latins. Italy was divided into many independent ſtates; and at that time, it was the ambition of princes and republics to vie with each other in the encouragement and reward of literature. The fame of Nicholas the fifth[110] has not been adequate to his merits. From a plebeian origin, he raiſed himſelf by his virtue and learning: the character of the man prevailed over the intereſt of the pope; and he ſharpened thoſe weapons which were ſoon pointed againſt the Roman church[111].

Nicholas V. A.D. 1447—1455.

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[109] [illegible]

[110] See the life of Nicholas V. by two contemporary authors, [illegible]

He had been the friend of the moſt eminent ſcholars of the age: he became their patron; and ſuch was the humility of his manners, that the change was ſcarcely diſcernible either to them or to himſelf. If he preſſed the acceptance of a liberal gift, it was not as the meaſure of deſert, but as the proof of benevolence; and when modeſt merit declined his bounty, "accept it," would he ſay with a conſciouſneſs of his own worth; "you will not always have a Nicholas "among ye." The influence of the holy ſee pervaded Chriſtendom; and he exerted that influence in the ſearch, not of benefices, but of books. From the ruins of the Byzantine libraries, from the darkeſt monaſteries of Germany and Britain, he collected the duſty manuſcripts of the writers of antiquity; and wherever the original could not be removed, a faithful copy was tranſcribed and tranſmitted for his uſe. The Vatican, the old repoſitory for bulls and legends, for ſuperſtition and forgery, was daily repleniſhed with more precious furniture; and ſuch was the induſtry of Nicholas, that in a reign of eight years, he formed a library of five thouſand volumes. To his munificence, the Latin world was indebted for the verſions of Xenophon, Diodorus, Polybius, Thucydides, Herodotus, and Appian; of Strabo's geography, of the Iliad, of the moſt valuable works of Plato and Ariſtotle, of Ptolemy and Theophraſtus, and of the fathers of the Greek church. The example of the Roman pontiff was preceded or imitated by a Florentine merchant, who governed the republic without arms and

Coſmo and Lorenzo of Medicis.

A.D. 1428—1492.

without a title. Coſmo of Medicis[112] was a father of a line of princes, whoſe name and age are almoſt ſynonymous with the reſtoration of learning: his credit was ennobled into fame; his riches were dedicated to the ſervice of mankind; he correſponded at once with Cairo and London: and a cargo of Indian ſpices and Greek books was often imported in the ſame veſſel. The genius and education of his grandſon Lorenzo rendered him, not only a patron, but a judge and candidate, in the literary race. In his palace, diſtreſs was entitled to relief, and merit to reward: his leiſure hours were delightfully ſpent in the Platonic academy: he encouraged the emulation of Demetrius Chalcocondyles and Angelo Politian; and his active miſſionary Janus Laſcaris returned from the Eaſt with a treaſure of two hundred manuſcripts, fourſcore of which were as yet unknown in the libraries of Europe[113]. The reſt of Italy was animated by a ſimilar ſpirit, and the progreſs of the nation repaid the liberality of her princes. The Latins held the excluſive property of their own literature: and theſe diſciples of Greece were ſoon capable of tranſmitting and improving the leſſons which they had imbibed. After a ſhort ſucceſſion of foreign teachers, the tide of emigration ſubſided; but the language of Conſtantinople was ſpread beyond the Alps; and the natives of France, Germany, and England[114], imparted to their country the ſacred fire which they had kindled in the ſchools of Florence and Rome[115]. In the productions of the mind, as in thoſe of the ſoil, the gifts of nature are excelled by induſtry and ſkill: the Greek authors, forgotten on the banks of the Iliſſus, have been illuſtrated on thoſe of the Elbe and the Thames: and Beſſarion or Gaza might have envied the ſuperior ſcience of the Barbarians; the accuracy of Budæus, the taſte of Eraſmus, the copiouſneſs of Stephens, the erudition of Scaliger, the diſcernment of Reiſke, or of Bentley. On the ſide of the Latins, the diſcovery of printing was a caſual advantage: but this uſeful art has been applied by Aldus, and his innumerable ſucceſſors, to perpetuate and multiply the works of antiquity[116]. A ſingle manuſcript imported from Greece is revived in ten thouſand copies; and each copy is fairer than the original. In this form, Homer and Plato would peruſe with more ſatiſfaction their own writings: and their ſcholiaſts muſt reſign the prize to the labours of our weſtern editors.

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[112] See the literary hiſtory of Coſmo and Lorenzo of Medicis, in Tiraboſchi (tom. vi. P. i. l. i. c. 2.), who beſtows a due meaſure of praiſe on Alphonſo of Arragon, king of Naples, the dukes of Milan, Ferrara, Urbino, &c. The republic of Venice has deſerved the leaſt from the gratitude of ſcholars.

[113] Tiraboſchi (tom. vi. P. i. p. 104.), from the preface of Janus Laſcaris to the Greek Anthology, printed at Florence 1494. Latebant (ſays Aldus in his preface to the Greek Orators, apud Hodium, p. 249.) in Atho Thraciæ monte. Eas Laſcaris . . . . in Italiam reportavit. Miſerat enim ipſum Laurentius ille Medices in Græciam ad inquirendos ſimul, et quantovis emendos pretio bonos libros. It is remarkable enough, that the reſearch was facilitated by Sultan Bajazet II.

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[114] The Greek language was introduced into the univerſity of Oxford in the laſt years of the xvth century, by Grocyn, Linacer, and Latimer, who had all ſtudied at Florence under Demetrius Chalcocondyles. See Dr. Knight's curious Life of Eraſmus. Although a ſtout academical patriot, he is forced to acknowledge, that Eraſmus learned Greek at Oxford, and taught it at Cambridge.

[115] The jealous Italians were deſirous of keeping a monopoly of Greek learning. When Aldus was about to publiſh the Greek ſcholiaſts on Sophocles and Euripides, Cave (ſaid they), cave hoc facias, ne *Barbari* iſtis adjuti domi maneant, et pauciores in Italiam ventitent (Dr. Knight, in his Life of Eraſmus, p. 365. from Beatus Rhenanus).

Uſe and abuſe of ancient learning.

Before the revival of claſſic literature, the Barbarians in Europe were immerſed in ignorance; and their vulgar tongues were marked with the rudeneſs and poverty of their manners. The ſtudents of the more perfect idioms of Rome and Greece, were introduced to a new world of light and ſcience; to the ſociety of the free and poliſhed nations of antiquity; and to a familiar converſe with thoſe immortal men who ſpoke the ſublime language of eloquence and reaſon. Such an intercourſe muſt tend to refine the taſte, and to elevate the genius, of the moderns: and yet, from the firſt experiments, it might appear that the ſtudy of the ancients had given fetters, rather than wings, to the human mind. However laudable, the ſpirit of imitation is of a ſervile caſt; and the firſt diſciples of the Greeks and Romans were a colony of ſtrangers in the midſt of their age and country. The minute and laborious diligence which explored the antiquities of remote times, might have improved or adorned the preſent ſtate of ſociety: the critic and metaphyſician were the ſlaves of Ariſtotle; the poets, hiſtorians, and orators, were proud to repeat the thoughts and words of the Auguſtan age; the works of nature were obſerved with the eyes of Pliny and Theophraſtus; and ſome Pagan votaries profeſſed a ſecret devotion to the gods of Homer and Plato[117]. The Italians were oppreſſed by the ſtrength and number of their ancient auxiliaries: the century after the deaths of Petrarch and Boccace was filled with a crowd of Latin imitators, who decently repoſe on our ſhelves; but in that æra of learning, it will not be eaſy to diſcern a real diſcovery of ſcience, a work of invention or eloquence, in the popular language of the country[113]. But as ſoon as it had been deeply ſaturated with the celeſtial dew, the ſoil was quickened into vegetation and life; the modern idioms were refined: the claſſics of Athens and Rome inſpired a pure taſte and a generous emulation; and in Italy, as afterwards in France and England, the pleaſing reign of poetry and fiction was ſucceeded by the light of ſpeculative and experimental philoſophy. Genius may anticipate the ſeaſon of maturity; but in the education of a people, as in that of an individual, memory muſt be exerciſed, before the powers of reaſon and fancy can be expanded; nor may the artiſt hope to equal or ſurpaſs, till he has learned to imitate, the works of his predeceſſors.

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[116] [illegible]

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[117] I will ſelect three ſingular examples of this claſſic enthuſiaſm. 1. At the ſynod of Florence, Gemiſtus Pletho ſaid, in familiar converſation to George of Trebizond, that in a ſhort time mankind would unanimouſly renounce the Goſpel and the Koran, for a religion ſimilar to that of the Gentiles (Leo Allatius, apud Fabricium, tom. x. p. 751.). 2. Paul II. perſecuted the Roman academy, which had been founded by Pomponius Lætus; and the principal members were accuſed of hereſy, impiety, and paganiſm (Tiraboſchi, tom. vi. P. i. p. 81, 82). 3. In the next century, ſome ſcholars and poets in France celebrated the ſucceſs of Jodelle's tragedy of Cleopatra, by a feſtival of Bacchus, and, as it is ſaid, by the ſacrifice of a goat (Bayle, Dictionnaire, Jodelle. Fontenelle, tom. iii. p. 56—61). Yet the ſpirit of bigotry might often diſcern a ſerious impiety in the ſportive play of fancy and learning.

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[113] The [illegible] of Boccace died in the year 1375; and we cannot place before 1480, the compoſition of the Morgante Maggiore of Pulci, and the Orlando Innamorato of Boyardo (Tiraboſchi, tom. vi. P. ii. p. 174—177).

CHAP. LXVII.

Schiſm of the Greeks and Latins.—Reign and Character of Amurath the Second.—Cruſade of Ladiſlaus King of Hungary.—His Defeat and Death.—John Huniades.—Scanderbeg.—Conſtantine Palæologus, laſt Emperor of the Eaſt.

Compariſon of Rome and Conſtantinople.

THE reſpective merits of Rome and Conſtantinople are compared and celebrated by an eloquent Greek, the father of the Italian ſchools[1]. The view of the ancient capital, the ſeat of his anceſtors, ſurpaſſed the moſt ſanguine expectations of Emanuel Chryſoloras; and he no longer blamed the exclamation of an old ſophiſt, that Rome was the habitation, not of men, but of gods. Thoſe gods, and thoſe men, had long ſince vaniſhed; but, to the eye of liberal enthuſiaſm, the majeſty of ruin reſtored the image of her ancient proſperity. The monuments of the conſuls and Cæſars, of the martyrs and apoſtles, engaged on all ſides the curioſity of the philoſopher and the Chriſtian; and he confeſſed, that in every age the arms and the religion of Rome were deſtined to reign over the earth.

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[1] The epiſtle of Emanuel Chryſoloras to the emperor John Palæologus, will not offend the eye or ear of a claſſical ſtudent (ad calcem Codini de Antiquitatibus C. P. p. 107—126.). The ſuperſcription ſuggeſts a chronological remark, that John Palæologus II. was aſſociated in the empire before the year 1414, the date of Chryſoloras's death. A ſtill earlier date, at leaſt 1408, is deduced from the age of his youngeſt ſons, Demetrius and Thomas, who were both *Porphyrogeniti* (Ducange, Fam. Byzant. p. 244. 247.).

While Chryſoloras admired the venerable beauties of the mother, he was not forgetful of his native country, her faireſt daughter, her Imperial colony; and the Byzantine patriot expatiates with zeal and truth, on the eternal advantages of nature, and the more tranſitory glories of art and dominion, which adorned, or had adorned, the city of Conſtantine. Yet the perfection of the copy ſtill redounds (as he modeſtly obſerves) to the honour of the original, and parents are delighted to be renewed, and even excelled, by the ſuperior merit of their children. "Conſtantinople," ſays the orator, "is ſituate on a "commanding point, between Europe and Aſia, "between the Archipelago and the Euxine. By "her interpoſition, the two ſeas, and the two "continents, are united for the common benefit "of nations; and the gates of commerce may "be ſhut or opened at her command. The harbour, encompaſſed on all ſides by the ſea and "the continent, is the moſt ſecure and capacious "in the world. The walls and gates of Conſtantinople may be compared with thoſe of Babylon: [illegible] is a ſolid "and [illegible], and the [illegible] wall, the "outer [illegible], would be ſufficient for the "[illegible] dignity of an ordinary capital. A "[illegible] may be [illegible] into "[illegible] artificial [illegible] may be "[illegible], by land or water."

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[2] Som [illegible] ſtantin p.

Two ſtrong and natural cauſes are alleged for the perfection of the model of new Rome. The royal founder reigned over the moſt illuſtrious nations of the globe; and in the accompliſhment of his deſigns, the power of the Romans was combined with the art and ſcience of the Greeks. Other cities have been reared to maturity by accident and time; their beauties are mingled with diſorder and deformity; and the inhabitants, unwilling to remove from their natal ſpot, are incapable of correcting the errors of their anceſtors, and the original vices of ſituation or climate. But the free idea of Conſtantinople was formed and executed by a ſingle mind; and the primitive model was improved by the obedient zeal of the ſubjects and ſucceſſors of the firſt monarch. The adjacent iſles were ſtored with an inexhauſtible ſupply of marble; but the various materials were tranſported from the moſt remote ſhores of Europe and Aſia; and the public and private buildings, the palaces, churches, aqueducts, ciſterns, porticoes, columns, baths, and hippodromes, were adapted to the greatneſs of the capital of the Eaſt. The ſuperfluity of wealth was ſpread round the ſhores of Europe and Aſia, and the Byzantine territory, as far as the Euxine, the Helleſpont, and the long wall, might be conſidered as a populous ſuburb and a perpetual garden. In this flattering picture, the paſt and the preſent, the times of proſperity and decay, are artfully con-

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ſtantinople, cannot be applied to the ſituation of Athens, five miles from the ſea, and not interſected or ſurrounded by any navigable ſtreams.

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formed; but a ſigh and confeſſion eſcape from the orator, that his wretched country was the ſhadow and ſepulchre of its former ſelf. The works of ancient ſculpture had been defaced by Chriſtian zeal or Barbaric violence; the faireſt ſtructures were demoliſhed; and the marbles of Paros or Numidia were burnt for lime, or applied to the meaneſt uſes. Of many a ſtatue, the place was marked by an empty pedeſtal; of many a column, the ſize was determined by a broken capital; the tombs of the emperors were ſcattered on the ground; the ſtroke of time was accelerated by ſtorms and earthquakes; and the vacant ſpace was adorned, by vulgar tradition, with fabulous monuments of gold and ſilver. From theſe wonders, which lived only in memory or belief, he diſtinguiſhes however the porphyry pillar, the column and coloſſus of Juſtinian, and the church, more eſpecially the dome, of St. Sophia; the beſt concluſion, ſince it could not be deſcribed according to its merits, and after it no other object could deſerve to be mentioned. But he forgets, that a century before, the trembling fabrics of the coloſſus and the church had been ſaved and ſupported by the timely care of Andronicus the Elder. Thirty years after the emperor had fortified St. Sophia with two new buttreſſes or pyra-

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[illegible]

mids,

midſt, the eaſtern hemiſphere ſuddenly gave way; and the images, the altars, and the ſanctuary, were cruſhed by the falling ruin. The miſchief indeed was ſpeedily repaired; the rubbiſh was cleared by the inceſſant labour of every rank and age; and the poor remains of riches and induſtry were conſecrated by the Greeks to the moſt ſtately and venerable temple of the Eaſt[4].

The Greek ſchiſm after the council of Florence, A. D. 1440—1448.

The laſt hope of the falling city and empire was placed in the harmony of the mother and daughter, in the maternal tenderneſs of Rome, and the filial obedience of Conſtantinople. In the ſynod of Florence, the Greeks and Latins had embraced, and ſubſcribed, and promiſed; but theſe ſigns of friendſhip were perfidious or fruitleſs[5]; and the baſeleſs fabric of the union vaniſhed like a dream[6]. The emperor and his prelates returned home in the Venetian gallies; but as they touched at the Morea and the iſles of

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[4] See the decay and repairs of St. Sophia, in Nicephorus Gregoras (l. vii. 12. l. xv. 2.). The buiding was propped by Andronicus in 1317, the eaſtern hemiſphere fell in 1345. The Greeks, in their pompous rhetoric, exalt the beauty and holineſs of the church, an earthly heaven, the abode of angels, and of God himſelf, &c.

[5] The genuine and original narrative of Syropulus (p. 312—351.) opens the ſchiſm from the firſt *office* of the Greeks at Venice, to the general oppoſition at Conſtantinople of the clergy and people.

[6] On the ſchiſm of Conſtantinople, ſee Phranza (l. ii. c. 17.), Laonicus Chalcondyles (l. vi. p. 155. 156.), and Ducas (c. 31.); the laſt of whom writes with truth and freedom. Among the moderns we may diſtinguiſh the continuator of Fleury (tom. xxii. p. 338, &c. 401. 420, &c.), and Spondanus (A. D. 1440—50.). The ſenſe of the latter is drowned in prejudice and paſſion, as ſoon as Rome and religion are concerned.

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Corfu and Leſbos, the ſubjects of the Latins complained that the pretended union would be an inſtrument of oppreſſion. No ſooner did they land on the Byzantine ſhore than they were ſaluted, or rather aſſailed, with a general murmur of zeal and diſcontent. During their abſence, above two years, the capital had been deprived of its civil and eccleſiaſtical rulers: fanaticiſm fermented in anarchy; the moſt furious monks reigned over the conſcience of women and bigots; and the hatred of the Latin name was the firſt principle of nature and religion. Before his departure for Italy, the emperor had flattered the city with the aſſurance of a prompt relief and a powerful ſuccour; and the clergy, confident in their orthodoxy and ſcience, had promiſed themſelves and their flocks an eaſy victory over the blind ſhepherds of the Weſt. The double diſappointment exaſperated the Greeks; the conſcience of the ſubſcribing prelates was awakened; the hour of temptation was paſt; and they had more to dread from the public reſentment, than they could hope from the favour of the emperor or the pope. Inſtead of juſtifying their conduct, they deplored their weakneſs, profeſſed their contrition, and caſt themſelves on the mercy of God and of their brethren. To the reproachful queſtion, what had been the event or uſe of their Italian ſynod? they anſwered with ſighs and tears, “ Alas! we have made a new faith; we have “ exchanged piety for impiety; we have betrayed “ the immaculate ſacrifice; and we are become

" *Azymites.*" (The Azymites were thoſe who celebrated the communion with unleavened bread; and I muſt retract or qualify the praiſe which I have beſtowed on the growing philoſophy of the times.) "Alas! we have been ſeduced by diſ-"treſs, by fraud, and by the hopes and fears "of a tranſitory life. The hand that has ſigned "the union ſhould be cut off; and the tongue "that has pronounced the Latin creed deſerves "to be torn from the root." The beſt proof of their repentance was an increaſe of zeal for the moſt trivial rites and the moſt incomprehenſible doctrines; and an abſolute ſeparation from all, without excepting their prince, who preſerved ſome regard for honour and conſiſtency. After the deceaſe of the patriarch Joſeph, the archbiſhops of Heraclea and Trebizond had courage to refuſe the vacant office; and cardinal Beſſarion preferred the warm and comfortable ſhelter of the Vatican. The choice of the emperor and his clergy was confined to Metrophanes of Cyzicus: he was conſecrated in St. Sophia, but the temple was vacant. The croſs-bearers abdicated their ſervice; the infection ſpread from the city to the villages; and Metrophanes diſcharged, without effect, ſome eccleſiaſtical thunders againſt a nation of ſchiſmatics. The eyes of the Greeks were directed to Mark of Epheſus, the champion of his country; and the ſufferings of the holy confeſſor were repaid with a tribute of admiration and applauſe. His example and writings propagated the flame of religious diſcord; age and infirmity ſoon removed him from the world; but the goſpel of Mark was not a law of forgiveneſs; and he requeſted with his dying breath, that none of the adherents of Rome might attend his obſequies or pray for his ſoul.

Zeal of the Orientals and Ruſſians.

The ſchiſm was not confined to the narrow limits of the Byzantine empire. Secure under the Mamaluke ſceptre, the three patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jeruſalem, aſſembled a numerous ſynod; diſowned their repreſentatives at Ferrara and Florence; condemned the creed and council of the Latins; and threatened the emperor of Conſtantinople with the cenſures of the Eaſtern church. Of the ſectaries of the Greek communion, the Ruſſians were the moſt powerful, ignorant, and ſuperſtitious. Their primate, the cardinal Iſidore, haſtened from Florence to Moſcow[7], to reduce the independent nation under the Roman yoke. But the Ruſſian biſhops had been educated at mount Athos; and the prince and people embraced the theology of their prieſts. They were ſcandaliſed by the title, the pomp, the Latin croſs of the legate, the friend of thoſe impious men who ſhaved their beards, and performed the divine office with gloves on their hands and rings on their fingers: Iſidore was condemned by a ſynod; his perſon was impriſoned in a monaſtery; and it was with extreme difficulty, that the Greeks could escape from the hands of an armed and fanatic people[a]. The Russians refused a passage to the missionaries of Rome who aspired to convert the Pagans beyond the Tanais; and their refusal was justified by the maxim, that the crime of idolatry is less damnable than that of schism. The errors of the Bohemians were excused by their abhorrence for the pope; and a deputation of the Greek clergy solicited the friendship of those sanguinary enthusiasts[b]. While Eugenius triumphed in the union and orthodoxy of the Greeks, his party was contracted to the walls, or rather to the palace, of Constantinople. The zeal of Palaeologus had been excited by interest; it was soon cooled by opposition: an attempt to violate the national belief might endanger his life and crown; nor could the pious rebels be destitute of foreign and domestic aid. The sword of

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[7] Iſidore was metropolitan of Kiow, but the Greeks ſubject to Poland have removed that ſee from the ruins of Kiow to Lemberg, or Leopold (Herbeſtein, in Ramuſio, tom. ii. p. 127). On the other hand, the Ruſſians transferred their ſpiritual obedience to the archbiſhop, who became, in 1588, the patriarch, of Moſcow (Leveſque, Hiſt. de Ruſſie, tom. iii. p. 188. 190, from a Greek MS. at Turin, Iter et labores Archiep. Arſenii).

[illegible]

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his brother Demetrius, who in Italy had maintained a prudent and popular ſilence, was half unſheathed in the cauſe of religion; and Amurath, the Turkiſh ſultan, was diſpleaſed and alarmed by the ſeeming friendſhip of the Greeks and Latins.

Reign and character of Amurath II. A.D. 1421—1451, February 9.

"Sultan Murad, or Amurath, lived forty-nine, "and reigned thirty years, ſix months, and eight "days. He was a juſt and valiant prince, of a "great ſoul, patient of labours, learned, merciful, religious, charitable; a lover and encourager of the ſtudious, and of all who excelled in any art or ſcience; a good emperor, "and a great general. No man obtained more "or greater victories than Amurath: Belgrade "alone withſtood his attacks. Under his reign, "the ſoldier was ever victorious, the citizen "rich and ſecure. If he ſubdued any country, "his firſt care was to build moſchs and caravanſeras, hoſpitals, and colleges. Every "year he gave a thouſand pieces of gold to the "ſons of the prophet; and ſent two thouſand "five hundred to the religious perſons of Mecca, "Medina, and Jeruſalem[11]." This portrait is tranſcribed from the hiſtorian of the Othman empire: but the applauſe of a ſervile and ſuperſtitious people has been laviſhed on the worſt of tyrants; and the virtues of a ſultan are often the vices moſt uſeful to himſelf, or moſt agreeable to his ſubjects. A nation ignorant of the equal benefits of liberty and law, muſt be awed by the flaſhes of arbitrary power: the cruelty of a deſpot will aſſume the character of juſtice; his profuſion, of liberality; his obſtinacy, of firmneſs. If the moſt reaſonable excuſe be rejected, few acts of obedience will be found impoſſible; and guilt muſt tremble, where innocence cannot always be ſecure. The tranquillity of the people, and the diſcipline of the troops, were beſt maintained by perpetual action in the field; war was the trade of the Janizaries: and thoſe who ſurvived the peril, and divided the ſpoil, applauded the generous ambition of their ſovereign. To propagate the true religion, was the duty of a faithful Muſulman: the unbelievers were *his* enemies, and thoſe of the prophet; and, in the hands of the Turks, the ſcymetar was the only inſtrument of converſion. Under theſe circumſtances, however, the juſtice and moderation of Amurath are atteſted by his conduct, and acknowledged by the Chriſtians themſelves; who conſider a proſperous reign and a peaceful death as the reward of his ſingular merits. In the vigour of his age and military power, he ſeldom engaged in a war till he was juſtified by a previous and adequate provocation: the victorious ſultan was diſarmed by ſubmiſſion; and in the obſervance of treaties, his word was inviolate and ſacred [12]. The Hungarians were commonly the aggreſſors; he was provoked by the

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[11] See Cantemir, Hiſtory of the Othman Empire, p. 94. Murad, or Morad, may be more correct; but I have preferred the popular name, to that obſcure diligence which is rarely ſucceſsful in tranſlating an Oriental, into the Roman, alphabet.

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[12] See Chalcondyles (l. vii. p. 186. 198.), Ducas (c. 33.), and Marinus Barletius (in Vit. Scanderbeg, p. 145. 146.). In his good faith towards the garriſon of Sfetigrade, he was a leſſon and example to his ſon Mahomet.

revolt

revolt of Scanderbeg; and the perfidious Caramanian was twice vanquiſhed, and twice pardoned, by the Ottoman monarch. Before he invaded the Morea, Thebes had been ſurpriſed by the deſpot: in the conqueſt of Theſſalonica, the grandſon of Bajazet might diſpute the recent purchaſe of the Venetians; and after the firſt ſiege of Conſtantinople, the ſultan was never tempted, by the diſtreſs, the abſence, or the injuries of Palæologus, to extinguiſh the dying light of the Byzantine empire.

His double abdication, A.D. 1442—1444.

But the moſt ſtriking feature in the life and character of Amurath, is the double abdication of the Turkiſh throne; and, were not his motives debaſed by an alloy of ſuperſtition, we muſt praiſe the royal philoſopher[13], who at the age of forty could diſcern the vanity of human greatneſs. Reſigning the ſceptre to his ſon, he retired to the pleaſant reſidence of Magneſia; but he retired to the ſociety of ſaints and hermits. It was not till the fourth century of the Hegira, that the religion of Mahomet had been corrupted by an inſtitution ſo adverſe to his genius; but in the age of the cruſades, the various orders of Dervиſhes were multiplied by the example of the Chriſtian, and even the Latin, monks[14]. The lord of nations ſubmitted to faſt, and pray, and turn round in endleſs rotation with the fanatics, who miſtook the giddineſs of the head for the illumination of the ſpirit[15]. But he was ſoon awakened from this dream of enthuſiaſm, by the Hungarian invaſion; and his obedient ſon was the foremoſt to urge the public danger and the wiſhes of the people. Under the banner of their veteran leader, the Janizaries fought and conquered; but he withdrew from the field of Varna, again to pray, to faſt, and to turn round with his Magneſian brethren. Theſe pious occupations were again interrupted by the danger of the ſtate. A victorious army diſdained the inexperience of their youthful ruler: the city of Adrianople was abandoned to rapine and ſlaughter; and the unanimous divan implored his preſence to appeaſe the tumult, and prevent the rebellion, of the Janizaries. At the well-known voice of their maſter, they trembled and obeyed; and the reluctant ſultan was compelled to ſupport his ſplendid ſervitude, till, at the end of four years, he was relieved by the angel of death. Age or diſeaſe, misfortune or caprice, have tempted ſeveral princes to deſcend from the throne; and they have had leiſure to repent of their irretrieveable ſtep. But Amurath alone, in the full liberty of choice, after the trial of empire and ſolitude, has *repeated* his preference of a private life.

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[13] Voltaire (Eſſai ſur l'Hiſtoire Générale, c. 89. p. 283, 284.) admires [illegible] bestowed the ſame praiſe on a [illegible] In his way, Voltaire was a [illegible]

[14] [illegible] Rohbaniat, in d'Herbe- [illegible] It is among the [illegible]

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[15] Rycaut (in the Preſent State of the Ottoman Empire, p. 242—268.) affords much information, which he drew from his perſonal converſation with the heads of the dervifhes, moſt of whom aſcribed their origin to the time of Orchan. He does not mention the *Zichidæ* of Chalcondyles (l. vii. p. 286.), among whom Amurath retired: the *Seids* of that author are the deſcendants of Mahomet.

After

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Eugenius forms a league against the Turks, A.D. 1443.

After the departure of his Greek brethren, Eugenius had not been unmindful of their temporal intereſt; and his tender regard for the Byzantine empire was animated by a juſt apprehenſion of the Turks, who approached, and might ſoon invade, the borders of Italy. But the ſpirit of the cruſades had expired; and the coldneſs of the Franks was not leſs unreaſonable than their headlong paſſion. In the eleventh century, a fanatic monk could precipitate Europe on Aſia for the recovery of the holy ſepulchre; but in the fifteenth, the moſt preſſing motives of religion and policy were inſufficient to unite the Latins in the defence of Chriſtendom. Germany was an inexhauſtible ſtorehouſe of men and arms[46]: but that complex and languid body required the impulſe of a vigorous hand; and Frederic the third was alike impotent in his perſonal character and his Imperial dignity. A long war had impaired the ſtrength, without ſatiating the animoſity, of France and England[47]: but Philip, duke of Burgundy, was a vain and magnificent prince; and he enjoyed, without danger or expence, the adventurous piety of his ſubjects, who ſailed, in a gallant fleet, from the coaſt of Flanders to the Helleſpont. The maritime republics of Venice and Genoa were leſs remote from the ſcene of action; and their hoſtile fleets were aſſociated under the ſtandard of St. Peter. The kingdoms of Hungary and Poland, which covered as it were the interior pale of the Latin church, were the moſt nearly concerned to oppoſe the progreſs of the Turks. Arms were the patrimony of the Scythians and Sarmatians, and theſe nations might appear equal to the conteſt, could they point, againſt the common foe, thoſe ſwords that were ſo wantonly drawn in bloody and domeſtic quarrels. But the ſame ſpirit was adverſe to concord and obedience: a poor country and a limited monarch are incapable of maintaining a ſtanding force; and the looſe bodies of Poliſh and Hungarian horſe were not armed with the ſentiments and weapons which, on ſome occaſions, have given irreſiſtible weight to the French chivalry. Yet, on this ſide, the deſigns of the Roman pontiff, and the eloquence of cardinal Julian, his legate, were promoted by the circumſtances of the times [18]; by the union of the two crowns on the head of Ladiſlaus [19], a young and ambitious ſoldier; by the valour of an hero, whoſe name, the name of John Huniades, was already popular among the Chriſtians, and formidable to the Turks. An endleſs treaſure of pardons and indulgences was ſcattered by the legate; many private warriors of France and Germany enliſted under the holy banner; and the cruſade derived ſome ſtrength, or at leaſt ſome reputation, from the new allies, both of Europe and Aſia. A fugitive deſpot of Servia exaggerated the diſtreſs and ardour of the Chriſtians beyond the Danube, who would unanimouſly riſe to vindicate their religion and liberty. The Greek emperor[20], with a ſpirit unknown to his fathers, engaged to guard the Boſphorus, and to ſally from Conſtantinople at the head of his national and mercenary troops. The ſultan of Caramania[21] announced the retreat of Amurath, and a powerful diverſion in the heart of Anatolia; and if the fleets of the Weſt could occupy at the ſame moment the ſtreights of the Helleſpont, the Ottoman monarchy would be diſſevered and deſtroyed. Heaven and earth muſt rejoice in the perdition of the miſcreants; and

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[46] [illegible]

[47] [illegible]

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[18] In the Hungarian cruſade, Spondanus (Annal. Eccleſ. A. D. 1443, 1444.) has been my leading guide. He has diligently read, and critically compared, the Greek and Turkiſh materials, the hiſtorians of Hungary, Poland, and the Weſt. His narrative is perſpicuous; and where he can be free from a religious bias, the judgment of Spondanus is not contemptible.

[19] I have curtailed the harſh letter (Wladiſlaus) which moſt writers affix to his name, either in compliance with the Poliſh pro

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pronunciation, or to [illegible] with him from his rival the infant Ladiſlaus of Auſtria. The [illegible] hiſtory of Hungary is illuſtrated by Callimachus (l. ii. p. 447-490.), Bonfinius (Decad. iii. l. v.), Spondanus, and Lenfant.

[20] The Greek hiſtorians, Phranza, Chalcondyles, and Ducas, do not aſcribe to their prince a very active part in this cruſade, which he ſeems to have promoted by his wiſhes, and injured by his fears.

[21] Cantemir (p. 88.) aſcribes to his policy the original plan, and tranſcribes his animating epiſtle to the king of Hungary. But the Mahometan powers are ſeldom informed of the ſtate of Chriſtendom; and the ſituation and correſpondence of the knights of Rhodes muſt connect them with the ſultan of Caramania.

the legate, with prudent ambiguity, inſtilled the opinion of the inviſible, perhaps the viſible, aid, of the Son of God, and his divine Mother.

Ladiſlaus, king of Poland and Hungary, marches againſt them.

Of the Poliſh and Hungarian diets, a religious war was the unanimous cry; and Ladiſlaus, after paſſing the Danube, led an army of his confederate ſubjects as far as Sophia, the capital of the Bulgarian kingdom. In this expedition they obtained two ſignal victories, which were juſtly aſcribed to the valour and conduct of Huniades. In the firſt, with a vanguard of ten thouſand men, he ſurpriſed the Turkiſh camp; in the ſecond, he vanquiſhed and made priſoner the moſt renowned of their generals, who poſſeſſed the double advantage of ground and numbers. The approach of winter, and the natural and artificial obſtacles of mount Hæmus, arreſted the progreſs of the hero, who meaſured a narrow interval of ſix days march from the foot of the mountains to the hoſtile towers of Adrianople, and the friendly capital of the Greek empire. The retreat was undiſturbed; and the entrance into Buda was at once a military and religious triumph. An eccleſiaſtical proceſſion was followed by the king and his warriors on foot: he nicely balanced the merits and rewards of the two nations; and the pride of conqueſt was blended with the humble temper of Chriſtianity. Thirteen baſhaws, nine ſtandards, and four thouſand captives, were unqueſtionable trophies; and as all were willing to believe, and none were preſent to contradict, the cruſaders multiplied, with unbluſhing confidence, the myriads of Turks whom they had left on the field of battle.

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The Turkiſh peace.

battle[22]. The moſt ſolid proof, and the moſt ſalutary conſequence, of victory, was a deputation from the divan to ſolicit peace, to reſtore Servia, to ranſom the priſoners, and to evacuate the Hungarian frontier. By this treaty, the rational objects of the war were obtained: the king, the deſpot, and Huniades himſelf, in the diet of Segedin, were ſatisfied with public and private emolument; a truce of ten years was concluded; and the followers of Jeſus and Mahomet, who ſwore on the Goſpel and the Koran, atteſted the word of God as the guardian of truth and the avenger of perfidy. In the place of the Goſpel, the Turkiſh miniſters had propoſed to ſubſtitute the Euchariſt, the real preſence of the Catholic deity; but the Chriſtians refuſed to profane their holy myſteries; and a ſuperſtitious conſcience is leſs forcibly bound by the ſpiritual energy, than by the outward and viſible ſymbols, of an oath[23].

Violation of the peace, A.D. 1444.

During the whole tranſaction, the cardinal legate had obſerved a ſullen ſilence, unwilling to approve, and unable to oppoſe, the conſent of the king and people. But the diet was not diſſolved before Julian was fortified by the welcome intelligence, that Anatolia was invaded by the Caramanian, and Thrace by the Greek emperor; that

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[22] In their letter to the emperor Frederic III. the Hungarians ſlay 30,000 Turks in one battle; but the modeſt Julian reduces the ſlaughter to 6000, or even 2000 infidels (Æneas Sylvius in Europ. c. 5. and epiſt. 44. 81. apud Spondanum).

[23] See the origin of the Turkiſh war, and the firſt expedition of Ladiſlaus, in the vth and vith books of the iiid decad of Bonfinius, who, in his diviſion and ſtyle, copies Livy with tolerable ſucceſs. Callimachus (l. ii. p. 487—496) is ſtill more pure and authentic.

the fleets of Genoa, Venice, and Burgundy, were maſters of the Helleſpont; and that the allies, informed of the victory, and ignorant of the treaty, of Ladiſlaus, impatiently waited for the return of his victorious army. "And is it thus," exclaimed the cardinal[24], "that you will deſert their "expectations and your own fortune? It is to "them, to your God, and your fellow-Chriſtians, "that you have pledged your faith; and that "prior obligation annihilates a raſh and ſacrile-"gious oath to the enemies of Chriſt. His "vicar on earth is the Roman pontiff; without "whoſe ſanction you can neither promiſe nor "perform. In his name I abſolve your perjury "and ſanctify your arms: follow my footſteps in "the paths of glory and ſalvation; and if ſtill ye "have ſcruples, devolve on my head the puniſh-"ment and the ſin." This miſchievous caſuiſtry was ſeconded by his reſpectable character, and the levity of popular aſſemblies: war was reſolved, on the ſame ſpot where peace had ſo lately been ſworn; and, in the execution of the treaty, the Turks were aſſaulted by the Chriſtians; to whom, with ſome reaſon, they might apply the epithet of infidels. The falſehood of Ladiſlaus to his word and oath, was palliated by the religion of the times: the moſt perfect, or at leaſt the moſt popular, excuſe would have been the ſucceſs of his arms and the deliverance of the Eaſtern church. But the ſame treaty which ſhould have bound his conſcience, had diminiſhed his ſtrength. On the proclamation of the peace, the French and German volunteers departed with indignant murmurs: the Poles were exhauſted by diſtant warfare, and perhaps diſguſted with foreign command; and their palatines accepted the firſt licence, and haſtily retired to their provinces and caſtles. Even Hungary was divided by faction, or reſtrained by a laudable ſcruple; and the relics of the cruſade that marched in the ſecond expedition, were reduced to an inadequate force of twenty thouſand men. A Walachian chief, who joined the royal ſtandard with his vaſſals, preſumed to remark that their numbers did not exceed the hunting retinue that ſometimes attended the ſultan; and the gift of two horſes of matchleſs ſpeed, might admoniſh Ladiſlaus of his ſecret foreſight of the event. But the deſpot of Servia, after the reſtoration of his country and children, was tempted by the promiſe of new realms; and the inexperience of the king, the enthuſiaſm of the legate, and the martial preſumption of Huniades himſelf, were perſuaded that every obſtacle muſt yield to the invincible virtue of the ſword and the croſs. After the paſſage of the Danube, two roads might lead to Conſtantinople and the Helleſpont; the one direct, abrupt, and difficult, through the mountains of Hæmus, the other more tedious and ſecure, over a level country, and along the ſhores of the Euxine; in which their flanks, according to the Scythian diſcipline, might always be covered by a moveable fortification of waggons. The latter was judiciouſly preferred; the Catholics marched through the plains of Bulgaria, burning, with wanton cruelty, the churches and villages of the Chriſtian natives; and their laſt ſtation was at Warna, near the ſea-ſhore; on which the defeat and death of Ladiſlaus have beſtowed a memorable name[25].

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[24] I do not pretend to warrant the literal accuracy of Julian's ſpeech, which is variouſly worded by Callimachus (l. iii. p. 505—507.), Bonfinius (Dec. iii. l. vi. p. 457, 458.), and other hiſtorians, who might indulge their own eloquence, while they repreſent one of the orators of the age. But they all agree in the advice and arguments for perjury, which in the field of controverſy are fiercely attacked by the Proteſtants, and feebly defended by the Catholics. The latter are diſcouraged by the misfortune of Warna.

Battle of Warna, A.D. 1444, Nov. 10.

It was on this fatal ſpot, that, inſtead of finding a confederate fleet to ſecond their operations, they were alarmed by the approach of Amurath himſelf, who had iſſued from his Magneſian ſolitude, and tranſported the forces of Aſia to the defence of Europe. According to ſome writers, the Greek emperor had been awed, or ſeduced, to grant the paſſage of the Boſphorus; and an indelible ſtain of corruption is fixed on the Genoeſe, or the pope's nephew, the Catholic admiral, whoſe mercenary connivance betrayed the guard of the Helleſpont. From Adrianople, the ſultan advanced by haſty marches, at the head of ſixty thouſand men; and when the cardinal, and Huniades, had taken a nearer ſurvey of the numbers and order of the Turks, theſe ardent warriors propoſed the tardy and impracticable meaſure of a retreat. The king alone was reſolved to conquer or die; and his reſolution had almoſt been crowned with a glorious and ſalutary victory. The princes were oppoſite to each other in the centre; and the Beglerbegs, or generals of Anatolia and Romania, commanded on the right and left againſt the adverſe diviſions of the deſpot and Huniades. The Turkiſh wings were broken on the firſt onſet: but the advantage was fatal; and the raſh victors, in the heat of the purſuit, were carried away far from the annoyance of the enemy or the ſupport of their friends. When Amurath beheld the flight of his ſquadrons, he deſpaired of his fortune and that of the empire: a veteran Janizary ſeized his horſe's bridle; and he had magnanimity to pardon and reward the ſoldier who dared to perceive the terror, and arreſt the flight, of his ſovereign. A copy of the treaty, the monument of Chriſtian perfidy, had been diſplayed in the front of battle; and it is ſaid, that the ſultan in his diſtreſs, lifting his eyes and his hands to heaven, implored the protection of the God of truth; and called on the prophet Jeſus himſelf to avenge the impious mockery of his name and religion[25]. With inferior numbers and diſordered ranks, the king of Hungary ruſhed forwards in the confidence of victory, till his career was ſtopped by the impenetrable phalanx of the Janizaries. If we may credit the Ottoman annals, his horſe was pierced by the javelin of Amurath[17]; he fell among the ſpears of the infantry; and a Turkiſh ſoldier proclaimed with a loud voice, "Hungarians, behold the head of "your king!" The death of Ladiſlaus was the ſignal of their defeat. On his return from an intemperate purſuit, Huniades deplored his error and the public loſs: he ſtrove to reſcue the royal body, till he was overwhelmed by the tumultuous crowd of the victors and vanquiſhed; and the laſt efforts of his courage and conduct were exerted to ſave the remnant of his Walachian cavalry. Ten thouſand Chriſtians were ſlain in the diſaſtrous battle of Warna: the loſs of the Turks, more conſiderable in numbers, bore a ſmaller proportion to their total ſtrength; yet the philoſophic ſultan was not aſhamed to confeſs, that his ruin muſt be the conſequence of a ſecond and ſimilar victory. At his command a column was erected on the ſpot where Ladiſlaus had fallen; but the modeſt inſcription, inſtead of accuſing the raſhneſs, recorded the valour, and bewailed the misfortune, of the Hungarian youth[18].

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[25] Warna, under the Grecian name of Odeſſus, was a colony of the Mileſians, which they denominated from the hero Ulyſſes (Cellarius, tom. i. p. 374. d'Anville, tom. i. p. 312.). According to Arrian's Periplus of the Euxine (p. 24, 25. in the 1st volume of Hudſon's Geographers), it was ſituate 1740 ſtadia, or furlongs, from the mouth of the Danube, 2140 from Byzantium, and 360 to the north of a ridge or promontory of mount Hæmus, which advances into the ſea.

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[25] Some Chriſtian writers affirm, that he drew from his boſom the hoſt or wafer on which the treaty had *not* been ſworn. The Moſlems ſuppoſe, with more ſimplicity, an appeal to God and his prophet Jeſus, which had been likewiſe inſinuated by Callimachus (l. iii. p. 516. Spondan. A.D. 1444, No. 8.).

Death of Ladiſlaus.

Before

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[17] A critic will always diſtruſt theſe *ſpolia opima* of a victorious general, ſo difficult for valour to obtain, ſo eaſy for flattery to invent (Cantemir, p. 90, 91.). Callimachus (l. iii. p. 517.) more ſimply and probably affirms, ſupervenientibus Janizaris, telorum multitudine, non tam confoſſus eſt, quam obrutus.

[18] Beſides ſome valuable hints from Æneas Sylvius, which are diligently collected by Spondanus, our beſt authorities are three hiſtorians of the xvth century, Philippus Callimachus (de Rebus a Vladiſlao Polonorum atque Hungarorum Rege geſtis, libri iii. in Bel. Script. Rerum Hungaricarum, tom. i. p. 433—518.), Bonfinius (decad iii. l. v. p. 460—467.), and Chalcocondyles (l. vii. p. 165—179.). The two firſt were Italians, but they paſſed their lives in Poland and Hungary (Fabric. Bibliot. Latin. med. et

The cardinal Julian.

Before I loſe ſight of the field of Warna, I am tempted to pauſe on the character and ſtory of two principal actors, the cardinal Julian and John Huniades. Julian[39] Cæſarini was born of a noble family of Rome: his ſtudies had embraced both the Latin and Greek learning, both the ſciences of divinity and law; and his verſatile genius was equally adapted to the ſchools, the camp, and the court. No ſooner had he been inveſted with the Roman purple, than he was ſent into Germany to arm the empire againſt the rebels and heretics of Bohemia. The ſpirit of perſecution is unworthy of a Chriſtian; the military profeſſion ill becomes a prieſt; but the former is excuſed by the times; and the latter was ennobled by the courage of Julian, who ſtood dauntleſs and alone in the diſgraceful flight of the German hoſt. As the pope's legate, he opened the council of Baſil; but the preſident ſoon appeared the moſt ſtrenuous champion of eccleſiaſtical freedom; and an oppoſition of ſeven years was conducted by his ability and zeal. After promoting the ſtrongeſt meaſures againſt the authority and perſon of Eugenius, ſome ſecret motive of intereſt or conſcience engaged him to deſert on a ſudden the popular party.

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mediæ Ætatis, tom. i. p. 324. Voſſius de Hiſt. Latin. l. iii. c. 8. 11. Bayle, Dictionnaire, Bonfinius). A ſmall tract of Fælix Petancius, chancellor of Segnia (ad calcem Cuſpinian. de Cæſaribus, p. 716–722.), repreſents the theatre of the war in the xvth century.

[39] M. Lenfant has deſcribed the origin (Hiſt. du Concile de Baſle, tom. i. p. 247, &c.), and Bohemian campaign (p. 315, &c.), of cardinal Julian. His ſervices at Baſil and Ferrara, and his unfortunate end, are occaſionally related by Spondanus, and the continuator of Fleury.

The cardinal withdrew himſelf from Baſil to Ferrara; and, in the debates of the Greeks and Latins, the two nations admired the dexterity of his arguments and the depth of his theological erudition [30]. In his Hungarian embaſſy we have already ſeen the miſchievous effects of his ſophiſtry and eloquence, of which Julian himſelf was the firſt victim. The cardinal, who performed the duties of a prieſt and a ſoldier, was loſt in the defeat of Warna. The circumſtances of his death are variouſly related; but it is believed, that a weighty incumbrance of gold impeded his flight, and tempted the cruel avarice of ſome Chriſtian fugitives.

John Corvinus Huniades.

From an humble, or at leaſt a doubtful origin, the merit of John Huniades promoted him to the command of the Hungarian armies. His father was a Walachian, his mother a Greek; her unknown race might poſſibly aſcend to the emperors of Conſtantinople; and the claims of the Walachians, with the ſurname of Corvinus, from the place of his nativity, might ſuggeſt a thin pretence for mingling his blood with the patricians of ancient Rome [31]. In his youth he ſerved in the wars of Italy; and was retained, with twelve horſemen, by the biſhop of Zagrab: the valour of the *white knight*[32] was ſoon conſpicuous; he encreaſed his fortunes by a noble and wealthy marriage; and in the defence of the Hungarian borders, he won in the ſame year three battles againſt the Turks. By his influence, Ladiſlaus of Poland obtained the crown of Hungary; and the important ſervice was rewarded by the title and office of Waivod of Tranſylvania. The firſt of Julian's cruſades added two Turkiſh laurels on his brow; and in the public diſtreſs the fatal errors of Warna were forgotten. During the abſence and minority of Ladiſlaus of Auſtria, the titular king, Huniades was elected ſupreme captain and governor of Hungary; and if envy at firſt was ſilenced by terror, a reign of twelve years ſuppoſes the arts of policy as well as of war. Yet the idea of a conſummate general is not delineated in his campaigns; the white knight fought with the hand rather than the head, as the chief of deſultory Barbarians, who attack without fear and fly without ſhame; and his military life is compoſed of a romantic alternative of victories and eſcapes. By the Turks, who employed his name to frighten their perverſe children, he was corruptly denominated *Jancus Lain*, or the Wicked: their hatred is the proof of their eſteem; the kingdom which he guarded was inacceſſible to their arms; and they felt him moſt daring and formidable, when they fondly believed the captain and his country irrecoverably loſt. Inſtead of confining himſelf to a defenſive war, four years after the defeat of Warna he again penetrated into the heart of Bulgaria; and in the plain of Coſſova ſuſtained, till the third day, the ſhock of the Ottoman army, four times more numerous than his own. As he fled alone through the woods of Walachia, the hero was ſurpriſed by two robbers; but while they diſputed a gold chain that hung at his neck, he recovered his ſword, ſlew the one, terrified the other, and, after new perils of captivity or death, conſoled by his preſence an afflicted kingdom. But the laſt and moſt glorious action of his life was the defence of Belgrade againſt the powers of Mahomet the ſecond in perſon. After a ſiege of forty days, the Turks, who had already entered the town, were compelled to retreat; and the joyful nations celebrated Huniades and Belgrade as the bulwarks of Chriſtendom[33]. About a month after this great deliverance, the champion expired; and his moſt ſplendid epitaph is the regret of the Ottoman prince, who ſighed that he could no longer hope for revenge againſt the ſingle antagoniſt who had triumphed over his arms. On the firſt vacancy of the throne, Matthias Corvinus, a youth of eighteen years of age, was elected and crowned by the grateful Hungarians. His reign was proſperous and long: Matthias aſpired to the glory of a conqueror and

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[30] Syropulus honourably praiſes the talents of an enemy (p. 117.): πολλα ειπεν ὁ Ἰουλιανος, πεπλατυσμενως αγαν και λογικως, και μετ' επιστημης και δεινοτητος Ῥητορικης.

[31] See Bonfinius, decad iii. l. iv. p. 423. Could the Italian hiſtorian pronounce, or the king of Hungary hear, without a bluſh, the abſurd flattery, which confounded the name of a Walachian village with the caſual, though glorious, epithet of a ſingle branch of the Valerian family at Rome?

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[32] Philip de Comines (Mémoires, l. vi. c. 13.), from the tradition of the times, mentions him with high encomiums, but under the whimſical name of the Chevalier Blanc de Valaigne (Valachia). The Greek Chalcondyles, and the Turkiſh Annals of Leunclavius, preſume to accuſe his fidelity or valour.

His defence of Belgrade, and death, A. D. 1456, July 22, Sept. 4.

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[33] See Bonfinius (decad iii. l. viii. p. 492.) and Spondanus (A. D. 1456, No 1—7.). Huniades ſhared the glory of the defence of Belgrade with Capiſtran, a Franciſcan friar; and in their reſpective narratives, neither the ſaint nor the hero condeſcend to take notice of his rival's merit.

a ſaint; but his pureſt merit is the encouragement of learning; and the Latin orators and hiſtorians, who were invited from Italy by the ſon, have ſhed the luſtre of their eloquence on the father's character[34].

Birth and education of Scanderbeg, prince of Albania, A.D. 1404—1413, &c.

In the liſt of heroes, John Huniades and Scanderbeg are commonly aſſociated[35]: and they are both entitled to our notice, ſince their occupation of the Ottoman arms delayed the ruin of the Greek empire. John Caſtriot, the father of Scanderbeg[36], was the hereditary prince of a ſmall diſtrict of Epirus or Albania, between the mountains and the Adriatic ſea. Unable to contend with the ſultan's power, Caſtriot ſubmitted to the hard conditions of peace and tribute: he delivered his four ſons as the pledges of his fidelity; and the Chriſtian youths, after receiving the mark of circumciſion, were inſtructed in the Mahometan religion, and trained in the arms and arts of Turkiſh policy [37]. The three elder brothers were confounded in the crowd of ſlaves; and the poiſon to which their deaths are aſcribed, cannot be verified or diſproved by any poſitive evidence. Yet the ſuſpicion is in a great meaſure removed by the kind and paternal treatment of George Caſtriot, the fourth brother, who, from his tender youth, diſplayed the ſtrength and ſpirit of a ſoldier. The ſucceſſive overthrow of a Tartar and two Perſians, who carried a proud defiance to the Turkiſh court, recommended him to the favour of Amurath, and his Turkiſh appellation of Scanderbeg (*Iſkender Beg*), or the lord Alexander, is an indelible memorial of his glory and ſervitude. His father's principality was reduced into a province: but the loſs was compenſated by the rank and title of Sanjiak, a command of five thouſand horſe, and the proſpect of the firſt dignities of the empire. He ſerved with honour in the wars of Europe and Aſia; and we may ſmile at the art or credulity of the hiſtorian, who ſuppoſes that in every encounter he ſpared the Chriſtians, while he fell with a thundering arm on his Muſulman foes. The glory of Huniades is without reproach; he fought in the defence of his religion and country; but the enemies who applaud the patriot, have branded his rival with the name of traitor and apoſtate. In the eyes of the Chriſtians, the rebellion of Scanderbeg is juſtified by his father's wrongs, the ambiguous death of his three brothers, his own degradation, and the ſlavery of his country; and they adore the generous, though tardy, zeal, with which he aſſerted the faith and independence of his anceſtors. But he had imbibed from his ninth year the doctrines of the Koran; he was ignorant of the Goſpel; the religion of a ſoldier is determined by authority and habit; nor is it eaſy to conceive what new illumination at the age of forty[38] could be poured into his ſoul. His motives would be leſs expoſed to the ſuſpicion of intereſt or revenge, had he broken his chain from the moment that he was ſenſible of its weight: but a long oblivion had ſurely impaired his original right; and every year of obedience and reward had cemented the mutual bond of the ſultan and his ſubject. If Scanderbeg had long harboured the belief of Chriſtianity and the intention of revolt, a worthy mind muſt condemn the baſe diſſimulation, that could ſerve only to betray, that could promiſe only to be foreſworn, that could actively join in the temporal and ſpiritual perdition of ſo many thouſands of his unhappy brethren. Shall we praiſe a ſecret correſpondence with Huniades, while he

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[34] See Bonfinius, decad iii. l. viii.—decad iv. l. viii. The obſervations of Spondanus on the life and character of Matthias Corvinus, are curious and critical (A.D. 1464. No 1. 1475, No 6. 1476, No 14—16. 1490. No 4, 5.). Italian fame was the object of his vanity. His actions are celebrated in the Epitome Rerum Hungaricarum (p. 322—412.) of Peter Ranzanus, a Sicilian. His wiſe and facetious ſayings are regiſtered by Galeotus Martius of Narni (528—568.): and we have a particular narrative of his wedding and coronation. Theſe three tracts are all contained in the 1st vol. of Bel's Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum.

[35] They are ranked by Sir William Temple, in his pleaſing Eſſay on Heroic Virtue (Works, vol. iii. p. 385.), among the ſeven chiefs who have deſerved, without wearing, a royal crown; Beliſarius, Narſes, Gonſalvo of Cordova, William firſt prince of Orange, Alexander duke of Parma, John Huniades, and George Caſtriot, or Scanderbeg.

[36] I could wiſh for ſome ſimple, authentic memoirs of a friend of Scanderbeg, which would introduce me to the man, the time, and the place. In the old and national hiſtory of Marinus Barletius, a prieſt of Scodra (de Vitâ, Moribus, et Rebus geſtis Georgii Caſtrioti, &c. libri xiii. pp. 367. Argentorat. 1537, in fol.), his gaudy and cumberſome robes are ſtuck with many falſe jewels. See likewiſe Chalcocondyles, l. vii. p. 185. l. viii. p. 229.

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[37] His circumciſion, education, &c. are marked by Marinus with brevity and reluctance (l. i. p. 6, 7.).

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[38] Since Scanderbeg died A. D. 1466, in the lxiiid year of his age (Marinus, l. xiii. p. 370.), he was born in 1403; ſince he was torn from his parents by the Turks, when he was novennis (Marinus, l. i. p. 1. 6.), that event muſt have happened in 1412, nine years before the acceſſion of Amurath II. who muſt have inherited, not acquired, the Albanian ſlave. Spondanus has remarked this inconſiſtency, A. D. 1431, No. 31. 1443, No. 14.

commanded

His revolt from the Turks, A.D. 1443, Nov. 28.

commanded the vanguard of the Turkiſh army? ſhall we excuſe the deſertion of his ſtandard, a treacherous deſertion which abandoned the victory to the enemies of his benefactor? In the confuſion of a defeat, the eye of Scanderbeg was fixed on the Reis Effendi or principal ſecretary: with a dagger at his breaſt, he extorted a firman or patent for the government of Albania; and the murder of the guiltleſs ſcribe and his train prevented the conſequences of an immediate diſcovery. With ſome bold companions, to whom he had revealed his deſign, he eſcaped in the night, by rapid marches, from the field of battle to his paternal mountains. The gates of Croya were opened to the royal mandate: and no ſooner did he command the fortreſs, than George Caſtriot dropt the maſk of diſſimulation; abjured the prophet and the ſultan, and proclaimed himſelf the avenger of his family and country. The names of religion and liberty provoked a general revolt: the Albanians, a martial race, were unanimous to live and die with their hereditary prince; and the Ottoman garriſons were indulged in the choice of martyrdom or baptiſm. In the aſſembly of the ſtates of Epirus, Scanderbeg was elected general of the Turkiſh war; and each of the allies engaged to furniſh his reſpective proportion of men and money. From theſe contributions, from his patrimonial eſtate, and from the valuable ſalt-pits of Selina, he drew an annual revenue of two hundred thouſand ducats[39]; and the entire ſum, exempt from the demands of luxury, was ſtrictly appropriated to the public uſe. His manners were popular; but his diſcipline was ſevere; and every ſuperfluous vice was baniſhed from his camp: his example ſtrengthened his command; and under his conduct, the Albanians were invincible in their own opinion and that of their enemies. The braveſt adventurers of France and Germany were allured by his fame and retained in his ſervice; his ſtanding militia conſiſted of eight thouſand horſe and ſeven thouſand foot; the horſes were ſmall, the men were active: but he viewed with a diſcerning eye the difficulties and reſources of the mountains; and, at the blaze of the beacons, the whole nation was diſtributed in the ſtrongeſt poſts. With ſuch unequal arms, Scanderbeg reſiſted twenty-three years the powers of the Ottoman empire; and two conquerors, Amurath the ſecond, and his greater ſon, were repeatedly baffled by a rebel, whom they purſued with ſeeming contempt and implacable reſentment. At the head of ſixty thouſand horſe and forty thouſand Janizaries, Amurath entered Albania; he might ravage the open country, occupy the defenceleſs towns, convert the churches into moſchs, circumciſe the Chriſtian youths, and puniſh with death his adult and obſtinate captives; but the conqueſts of the ſultan were confined to the petty fortreſs of Sfetigrade; and the garriſon, invincible to his arms, was oppreſſed by a paltry artifice and a ſuperſtitious ſcruple[20]. Amurath

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[39] His revenue and forces are luckily given by Marinus (l. ii. p. 44.).

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[20] There were two Dibras, the upper and lower, the Bulgarian and Albanian: the former, 70 miles from Croya (l. i. p. 17.), was contiguous

Amurath retired with ſhame and loſs from the walls of Croya, the caſtle and reſidence of the Caſtriots; the march, the ſiege, the retreat, were haraſſed by a vexatious, and almoſt inviſible, adverſary [41]; and the diſappointment might tend to embitter, perhaps to ſhorten, the laſt days of the ſultan [42]. In the fulneſs of conqueſt, Mahomet the ſecond ſtill felt at his boſom this domeſtic thorn: his lieutenants were permitted to negociate a truce; and the Albanian prince may juſtly be praiſed as a firm and able champion of his national independence. The enthuſiaſm of chivalry and religion has ranked him with the names of Alexander and Pyrrhus; nor would they bluſh to acknowledge their intrepid countryman: but his narrow dominion, and ſlender powers, muſt leave him at an humble diſtance below the heroes of antiquity, who triumphed over the Eaſt and the Roman legions. His ſplendid atchievements, the baſhaws whom he encountered, the armies that he diſcomfited, and the three thouſand Turks who were ſlain by his ſingle hand, muſt be weighed in the ſcales of ſuſpicious criticiſm. Againſt an illiterate enemy, and in the dark ſolitude of

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contiguous to the fortreſs of Sfetigrade, whoſe inhabitants refuſed to drink from a well into which a dead dog had traiterouſly been caſt (l. v. p. 139, 140.). We want a good map of Epirus.

[41] Compare the Turkiſh narrative of Cantemir (p. 92.) with the pompous and prolix declamation in the ivth, vth, and vith books of the Albanian prieſt, who has been copied by the tribe of ſtrangers and moderns.

[42] In honour of his hero, Barletius (l. vi. p. 188—192.) kills the ſultan, by diſeaſe indeed, under the walls of Croya. But this audacious fiction is diſproved by the Greeks and Turks, who agree in the time and manner of Amurath's death at Adrianople.

Epirus, his partial biographers may ſafely indulge the latitude of romance: but their fictions are expoſed by the light of Italian hiſtory; and they afford a ſtrong preſumption againſt their own truth, by a fabulous tale of his exploits, when he paſſed the Adriatic with eight hundred horſe to the ſuccour of the king of Naples[43]. Without diſparagement to his fame, they might have owned that he was finally oppreſſed by the Ottoman powers: in his extreme danger, he applied to pope Pius the ſecond for a refuge in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate; and his reſources were almoſt exhauſted, ſince Scanderbeg died a fugitive at Liſſus on the Venetian territory[44]. His ſepulchre was ſoon violated by the Turkiſh conquerors; but the Janizaries, who wore his bones enchaſed in a bracelet, declared, by this ſuperſtitious amulet, their involuntary reverence for his valour. The inſtant ruin of his country may redound to the hero's glory; yet, had he balanced the conſequences of ſubmiſſion and reſiſtance, a patriot

nd death, A.D. 1467, Jan. 17.

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[43] See the marvels of his Calabrian expedition in the ixth and xth books of Marinus Barletius, which may be rectified by the teſtimony or ſilence of Muratori (Annali d'Italia, tom. xiii. p. 291.), and his original authors (Joh. Simonettæ de Rebus Francisci Sfortiæ, in Muratori, Script. Rerum Ital. tom. xxi. p. 728. et alios). The Albanian cavalry, under the name of *Stradiots*, ſoon became famous in the wars of Italy (Mémoires de Comines, l. viii. c. 5).

[44] Spondanus, from the beſt evidence and the moſt rational criticiſm, has reduced the giant Scanderbeg to the human ſize (A.D. 1461, N° 20. 1463, N° 9. 1465, N° 12, 13. 1467, N° 1.). His own letter to the pope, and the teſtimony of Phranza (l. iii. c. 28.), a refugee in the neighbouring iſle of Corfu, demonſtrate his laſt diſtreſs, which is awkwardly concealed by Marinus Barletius (l. x.).

perhaps would have declined the unequal conteſt which muſt depend on the life and genius of one man. Scanderbeg might indeed be ſupported by the rational, though fallacious, hope, that the pope, the king of Naples, and the Venetian republic, would join in the defence of a free and Chriſtian people, who guarded the ſea-coaſt of the Adriatic, and the narrow paſſage from Greece to Italy. His infant ſon was ſaved from the national ſhipwreck; the Caſtriots[45] were inveſted with a Neapolitan dukedom, and their blood continues to flow in the nobleſt families of the realm. A colony of Albanian fugitives obtained a ſettlement in Calabria, and they preſerve at this day the language and manners of their anceſtors[46].

Conſtantine, the laſt of the Roman or Greek emperors, A.D. 1448, Nov 1—A.D. 1453, May 29.

In the long career of the decline and fall of the Roman empire, I have reached at length the laſt reign of the princes of Conſtantinople, who ſo feebly ſuſtained the name and majeſty of the Cæſars. On the deceaſe of John Palæologus, who ſurvived about four years the Hungarian cruſade[47], the royal family, by the death of Andronicus and the monaſtic profeſſion of Iſidore, was reduced to three princes, Conſtantine, Demetrius, and Thomas, the ſurviving ſons of the emperor Manuel. Of theſe the firſt and the laſt were far diſtant in the Morea: but Demetrius, who poſſeſſed the domain of Selybria, was in the ſuburbs, at the head of a party: his ambition was not chilled with the public diſtreſs; and his conſpiracy with the Turks and the ſchiſmatics had already diſturbed the peace of his country. The funeral of the late emperor was accelerated with ſingular and even ſuſpicious haſte; the claim of Demetrius to the vacant throne was juſtified by a trite and flimſy ſophiſm, that he was born in the purple, the eldeſt ſon of his father's reign. But the empreſs-mother, the ſenate and ſoldiers, the clergy and people, were unanimous in the cauſe of the lawful ſucceſſor; and the deſpot Thomas, who, ignorant of the change, accidentally returned to the capital, aſſerted with becoming zeal the intereſt of his abſent brother. An ambaſſador, the hiſtorian Phranza, was immediately diſpatched to the court of Adrianople. Amurath received him with honour and diſmiſſed him with gifts; but the gracious approbation of the Turkiſh ſultan announced his ſupremacy, and the approaching downfal of the Eaſtern empire. By the hands of two illuſtrious deputies, the Imperial crown was placed at Sparta on the head of Conſtantine. In the ſpring he ſailed from the Morea, eſcaped the encounter of a Turkiſh ſquadron, enjoyed the acclamations of his ſubjects, celebrated the feſtival of a new reign, and exhauſted by his donatives the treaſure, or rather the indigence, of the ſtate. The emperor immediately reſigned to his brothers the poſſeſſion of the Morea; and the brittle friendſhip of the two princes, Demetrius and Thomas, was confirmed in their mother's preſence by the frail ſecurity of oaths and embraces. His next occupation was the choice of a conſort. A daughter of the doge of Venice had been propoſed; but the Byzantine nobles objected the diſtance between an hereditary monarch and an elective magiſtrate; and in their ſubſequent diſtreſs, the chief of that powerful republic was not unmindful of the affront. Conſtantine afterwards heſitated between the royal families of Trebizond and Georgia; and the embaſſy of Phranza repreſents in his public and private life the laſt days of the Byzantine empire[43].

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[45] See the family of the Caſtriots, in Ducange (Fam. Dalmaticæ, &c. xviii. p. 348—350.).

[46] This colony of Albaneſe is mentioned by Mr. Swinburne (Travels into the Two Sicilies, vol. i. p. 350—354.).

[47] The chronology of Phranza is clear and authentic; but inſtead of four years and ſeven months, Spondanus (A.D. 1445, No. 7.) aſſigns ſeven or eight years to the reign of the laſt Conſtantine, which he deduces from a ſpurious epiſtle of Eugenius IV. to the king of Æthiopia.

Embaſſies of Phranza, A. D. 1450–1452.

The *protoveſtiare*, or great chamberlain, Phranza ſailed from Conſtantinople as miniſter of a bridegroom; and the relics of wealth and luxury were applied to his pompous appearance. His numerous retinue conſiſted of nobles and guards, of phyſicians and monks; he was attended by a band of muſic; and the term of his coſtly embaſſy was protracted above two years. On his arrival in Georgia or Iberia, the natives from the towns and villages flocked around the ſtrangers; and ſuch was their ſimplicity, that they were delighted with the effects, without underſtanding the cauſe, of muſical harmony. Among the crowd was an old man, above an hundred years of age, who had formerly been carried away a captive by the barbarians [49], and who amuſed his hearers with a tale of the wonders of India [50], from whence he had returned to Portugal by an unknown ſea [51]. From this hoſpitable land, Phranza proceeded to the court of Trebizond, where he was informed by the Greek prince of the recent deceaſe of Amurath. Inſtead of rejoicing in the deliverance, the experienced ſtateſman expreſſed his apprehenſion, that an ambitious youth would not long adhere to the ſage and pacific ſyſtem of his father. After the ſultan's deceaſe, his Chriſtian wife Maria [52], the daughter of the Servian deſpot, had been honourably reſtored to her parents: on the fame of her beauty and merit, ſhe was recommended by the ambaſſador as the moſt worthy object of the Royal choice; and Phranza recapitulates and refutes the ſpecious objections that might be raiſed againſt the propoſal. The majeſty of the purple would ennoble an unequal alliance; the bar of affinity might be removed by liberal alms and the diſpenſation of the church; the diſgrace of Turkiſh nuptials had been repeatedly overlooked; and, though the fair Maria was near fifty years of age, ſhe might yet hope to give an heir to the empire. Conſtantine liſtened to the advice, which was tranſmitted in the firſt ſhip that ſailed from Trebizond; but the factions of the court oppoſed his marriage; and it was finally prevented by the pious vow of the ſultana, who ended her days in the monaſtic profeſſion. Reduced to the firſt alternative, the choice of Phranza was decided in favour of a Georgian princeſs; and the vanity of her father was dazzled by the glorious alliance. Inſtead of demanding, according to the primitive and national cuſtom, a price for his daughter[53], he offered a portion of fifty-ſix thouſand, with an annual penſion of five thouſand ducats; and the ſervices of the ambaſſador were repaid by an aſſurance, that as his ſon had been adopted in baptiſm by the emperor, the eſtabliſhment of his daughter ſhould be the peculiar care of the empreſs of Conſtantinople. On the return of Phranza, the treaty was ratified by the Greek monarch, who with his own hand impreſſed three vermillion croſſes on the Golden bull, and aſſured the Georgian envoy, that in the

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[43] Phranza (l. iii. c. 1–6.) deſerves credit and eſteem.

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[49] Suppoſe him to have been captured in 1394, in Timour's firſt war in Georgia (Sherefeddin, l. iii. c. 50.); he might follow his Tartar maſter into Hindoſtan in 1398, and from thence ſail to the ſpice iſlands.

[50] The happy and pious Indians lived an hundred and fifty years, and enjoyed the moſt perfect productions of the vegetable and mineral kingdoms. The animals were on a large ſcale; dragons ſeventy cubits, ants (the *formica Indica*) nine inches long, ſheep like elephants, elephants like ſheep. Quidlibet audendi, &c.

[51] He ſailed in a country veſſel from the ſpice iſland to one of the ports of the exterior India; invenitque navem grandem *Ibericam*, quâ in *Portugalliam* eſt delatus. This paſſage, compoſed in 1477 (Phranza, l. iii. c. 30.), twenty years before the diſcovery of the Cape of Good Hope, is ſpurious or wonderful. But this new geography is ſullied by the old and incompatible error which places the ſource of the Nile in India.

[52] Cantemir (p. 83.), who ſtiles her the daughter of Lazarus Ogli, and the Helen of the Servians, places her marriage with Amurath in the year 1424. It will not eaſily be believed, that in ſix-and-twenty years cohabitation, the ſultan corpus ejus non tetigit. After the taking of Conſtantinople, ſhe fled to Mahomet II. (Phranza, l. iii. c. 22.).

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[53] The claſſical reader will recollect the offers of Agamemnon (Iliad ι. v. 144), and the general practice of antiquity.

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ſpring his galleys ſhould conduct the bride to her Imperial palace. But Conſtantine embraced his faithful ſervant, not with the cold approbation of a ſovereign, but with the warm confidence of a friend, who, after a long abſence, is impatient to pour his ſecrets into the boſom of his friend. "Since the death of my mother and of Cantacuzene, who alone adviſed me without intereſt "or paſſion, I am ſurrounded," ſaid the emperor, "by men whom I can neither love, nor truſt, nor "eſteem. You are not a ſtranger to Lucas Notaras, the great admiral; obſtinately attached "to his own ſentiments, he declares, both in "private and public, that his ſentiments are the "abſolute meaſure of my thoughts and actions. "The reſt of the courtiers are ſwayed by their "perſonal or factious views; and how can I "conſult the monks on queſtions of policy and "marriage? I have yet much employment for "your diligence and fidelity. In the ſpring you "ſhall engage one of my brothers to ſolicit the "ſuccour of the Weſtern powers; from the "Morea you ſhall ſail to Cyprus on a particular "commiſſion; and from thence proceed to Georgia, to fetch and conduct the future empreſs." "Your commands," replied Phranza, "are irreſiſtible; but deign, great ſir," he added, with a ſerious ſmile, "to conſider that if I am "abſent from my family, my

State of the Byzantine court.

[illegible]

"wife may be tempted either to ſeek another "huſband, or to throw herſelf into a monaſtery." After laughing at his apprehenſions, the emperor more gravely conſoled him by the pleaſing aſſurance that *this* ſhould be his laſt ſervice abroad, and that he deſtined for his ſon a wealthy and noble heireſs; for himſelf, the important office of great logothete, or principal miniſter of ſtate. The marriage was immediately ſtipulated; but the office, however incompatible with his own, had been uſurped by the ambition of the admiral. Some delay was requiſite to negociate a conſent and an equivalent; and the nomination of Phranza was half declared, and half ſuppreſſed, leſt it might be diſpleaſing to an inſolent and powerful favourite. The winter was ſpent in the preparations of his embaſſy; and Phranza had reſolved, that the youth his ſon ſhould embrace this opportunity of foreign travel, and be left, on the appearance of danger, with his maternal kindred of the Morea. Such were the private and public deſigns, which were interrupted by a Turkiſh war, and finally buried in the ruins of the empire.

CHAP. LXVIII.

Reign and Character of Mahomet the Second.—Siege, Aſſault, and final Conqueſt, of Conſtantinople by the Turks.—Death of Conſtantine Palæologus.—Servitude of the Greeks.—Extinction of the Roman Empire in the Eaſt.—Conſternation of Europe.—Conqueſts and Death of Mahomet the Second.

CHAP. LXVIII. Character of Mahomet II.

THE ſiege of Conſtantinople by the Turks attracts our firſt attention to the perſon and character of the great deſtroyer. Mahomet the ſecond[1] was the ſon of the ſecond Amurath; and though his mother has been decorated with the titles of Chriſtian and princeſs, ſhe is more probably confounded with the numerous concubines, who peopled from every climate the haram of the ſultan. His firſt education and ſentiments were thoſe of a devout Muſſulman; and as often as he converſed with an infidel, he purified his hands and face by the legal rites of ablution. Age and empire appear to have relaxed this narrow bigotry: his aſpiring genius diſdained to acknowledge a power above his own; and in his looſer hours he preſumed (it is ſaid) to brand the prophet of Mecca as a robber and impoſtor. Yet the ſultan perſevered in a decent reverence for the doctrine and diſcipline of the Koran [2]: his private indiſcretion muſt have been ſacred from the vulgar ear; and we ſhould ſuſpect the credulity of ſtrangers and ſectaries, ſo prone to believe that a mind which is hardened againſt truth, muſt be armed with ſuperior contempt for abſurdity and error. Under the tuition of the moſt ſkilful maſters, Mahomet advanced with an early and rapid progreſs in the paths of knowledge; and beſides his native tongue, it is affirmed that he ſpoke or underſtood five languages [3], the Arabic, the Perſian, the Chaldæan or Hebrew, the Latin, and the Greek. The Perſian might indeed contribute to his amuſement, and the Arabic to his edification; and ſuch ſtudies are familiar to the Oriental youth. In the intercourſe of the Greeks and Turks, a conqueror might wiſh to converſe with the people over whom he was ambitious to reign: his own praiſes in Latin poetry [4] or poets [5] might inſtil a pleaſure to the royal ear; but what uſe or merit could recommend to the ſtateſman or the ſcholar the uncouth dialect of his Hebrew ſlaves? The hiſtory and geography of the world were familiar to his memory: the lives of the heroes of the Eaſt, perhaps of the Weſt, excited his emulation: his ſkill in aſtrology is excuſed by the folly of the times, and ſuppoſes ſome rudiments of mathematical ſcience; and a profane taſte for the arts is betrayed in his liberal invitation and reward of the painters of Italy [6]. But the influence of religion and learning were employed without effect on his ſavage and licentious nature. I will not tranſcribe, nor do I firmly believe, the ſtories of his fourteen pages, whoſe bellies were ripped open in ſearch of a ſtolen melon; or of the beauteous ſlave, whoſe head he ſevered from her body, to convince the Janizaries that their maſter was not the votary of love. His ſobriety is atteſted by the ſilence of the Turkiſh annals, which accuſe three, and three only, of the

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[1] For the character of Mahomet II. it is dangerous to truſt either the Turks or the Chriſtians. The moſt moderate picture appears to be drawn by Phranza (l. i. c. 33.), whoſe reſentment had cooled in age and ſolitude; ſee likewiſe Spondanus (A. D. 1451, No 11.), and the continuator of Fleury (tom. xxii. p. 552.), the Elogia of Paulus Jovius (l. iii. p. 164—166.), and the Dictionnaire de Bayle (tom. iii. p. 272—279.).

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[2] Cantemir (p. 115.), and the moſchs which he founded, atteſt his public regard for religion. Mahomet freely diſputed with the patriarch Gennadius on the two religions (Spond. A. D. 1453, Nº 22.).

[3] Quinque linguas præter ſuam noverat; Græcam, Latinam, Chaldaicam, Perſicam. The Latin tranſlator of Phranza has dropt the Arabic, which the Koran muſt recommend to every Muſulman.

[4] Philelphus, by a Latin ode, requeſted and obtained the liberty of his wife's mother and ſiſters from the conqueror of Conſtantinople. It was delivered into the ſultan's hands by the envoys of the Duke of Milan. Philelphus himſelf was ſuſpected of a deſign of retiring to Conſtantinople; yet the orator often ſounded the trumpet of holy war (ſee his life by M. Launcelot, in the Memoires de l'Academie des Inſcriptions, tom. x. p. 718. 724, &c.).

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[5] [illegible] Mahomet II.

[6] [illegible]

[illegible] commanded.

Ottoman line of the vice of drunkenneſs [3]. But it cannot be denied that his paſſions were at once furious and inexorable; that in the palace, as in the field, a torrent of blood was ſpilt on the ſlighteſt provocation; and that the nobleſt of the captive youth were often diſhonoured by his unnatural luſt. In the Albanian war, he ſtudied the leſſons, and ſoon ſurpaſſed the example, of his father; and the conqueſt of two empires, twelve kingdoms, and two hundred cities, a vain and flattering account, is aſcribed to his invincible ſword. He was doubtleſs a ſoldier, and poſſibly a general; Conſtantinople has ſealed his glory; but if we compare the means, the obſtacles, and the achievements, Mahomet the ſecond muſt bluſh to ſuſtain a parallel with Alexander or Timour. Under his command, the Ottoman forces were always more numerous than their enemies; yet their progreſs was bounded by the Euphrates and the Adriatic; and his arms were checked by Huniades and Scanderbeg, by the Rhodian knights and by the Perſian king.

His reign, A.D. 1451, Feb. 9— A.D. 1481, July 2.

In the reign of Amurath, he twice taſted of royalty, and twice deſcended from the throne: his tender age was incapable of oppoſing his father's reſtoration, but never could he forgive the vizirs who had recommended that ſalutary meaſure. His nuptials were celebrated with the daughter of a Turkman emir; and after a feſtival of two months, he departed from Adrianople with his bride to reſide in the government of Magneſia. Before the end of ſix weeks, he was recalled by a ſudden meſſage from the divan, which announced the deceaſe of Amurath, and the mutinous ſpirit of the Janizaries. His ſpeed and vigour commanded their obedience: he paſſed the Helleſpont with a choſen guard; and at the diſtance of a mile from Adrianople, the vizirs and emirs, the imams and cadhis, the ſoldiers and the people, fell proſtrate before the new ſultan. They affected to weep, they affected to rejoice; he aſcended the throne at the age of twenty-one years, and removed the cauſe of ſedition by the death, the inevitable death, of his infant brothers[9]. The ambaſſadors of Europe and Aſia ſoon appeared to congratulate his acceſſion and ſolicit his friendſhip; and to all he ſpoke the language of moderation and peace. The confidence of the Greek emperor was revived by the ſolemn oaths and fair aſſurances with which he ſealed the ratification of the treaty: and a rich domain on the banks of the Strymon was aſſigned for the annual payment of three hundred thouſand aſpers, the penſion of an Ottoman prince, who was detained at his requeſt in the Byzantine court. Yet the neighbours of Mahomet might tremble at the ſeverity with which a youthful monarch reformed the pomp of his father's houſe-hold: the expences of luxury were applied to thoſe of ambition, and an uſeleſs train of ſeven thouſand falconers was either diſmiſſed from his ſervice, or enliſted in his troops. In the firſt ſummer of his reign, he viſited with an army the Aſiatic provinces; but after humbling the pride, Mahomet accepted the ſubmiſſion, of the Caramanian, that he might not be diverted by the ſmalleſt obſtacle from the execution of his great deſign[10].

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[3] Theſe imperial drunkards were Soliman I. Selim II. and Amurath IV. (Cantemir, p. 61.). The ſophis of Perſia can produce a more regular ſucceſſion; and in the laſt age, our European travellers were the witneſſes and the companions of their revels.

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[9] [illegible]

Hoſtile intentions of Mahomet, A.D. 1451.

The Mahometan, and more eſpecially the Turkiſh caſuiſts, have pronounced that no promiſe can bind the faithful againſt the intereſt and duty of their religion; and that the ſultan may abrogate his own treaties and thoſe of his predeceſſors. The juſtice and magnanimity of Amurath had ſcorned this immoral privilege; but his ſon, though the proudeſt of men, could ſtoop from ambition to the baſeſt arts of diſſimulation and deceit. Peace was on his lips, while war was in his heart: he inceſſantly ſighed for the poſſeſſion of Conſtantinople; and the Greeks, by their own indiſcretion, afforded the firſt pretence of the fatal rupture[11]. Inſtead of labouring to be forgotten,

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[10] See the acceſſion of Mahomet II. in Ducas (c. 33.), Phranza (l. i. c. 33. l. iii. c. 2.), Chalcocondyles (l. vii. p. 199.), and Cantemir (p. 96.).

[11] Before I enter on the ſiege of Conſtantinople I ſhall obſerve, that except the ſhort hints of Cantemir and Leunclavius, I have not been able to obtain any Turkiſh account of this conqueſt: ſuch an account as we poſſeſs of the ſiege of Rhodes by Soliman II. (Memoires de l'Academie des Inſcriptions, tom. xxvi. p. 723—769.). I muſt therefore depend on the Greeks, whoſe prejudices, in ſome degree, are ſubdued by their diſtreſs. Our ſtandard texts are thoſe of Ducas (c. 34—42.), Phranza (l. iii. c. 7—20.), Chalcocondyles

gotten, their ambaſſadors purſued his camp, to demand the payment, and even the increaſe, of their annual ſtipend: the divan was importuned by their complaints, and the vizir, a ſecret friend of the Chriſtians, was conſtrained to deliver the ſenſe of his brethren. "Ye fooliſh and miſerable Romans," ſaid Calil, "we know your devices, "and ye are ignorant of your own danger! the "ſcrupulous Amurath is no more; his throne "is occupied by a young conqueror, whom no "laws can bind, and no obſtacles can reſiſt: and "if you eſcape from his hands, give praiſe to the "divine clemency, which yet delays the chaſtiſe-"ment of your ſins. Why do ye ſeek to affright "us by vain and indirect menaces? Releaſe the "fugitive Orchan, crown him ſultan of Romania; call the Hungarians from beyond the "Danube; arm againſt us the nations of the "Weſt; and be aſſured, that you will only provoke and precipitate your ruin." But, if the fears of the ambaſſadors were alarmed by the ſtern language of the vizir, they were ſoothed by

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[illegible]

the courteous audience and friendly ſpeeches of the Ottoman prince; and Mahomet aſſured them that on his return to Adrianople he would redreſs the grievances, and conſult the true intereſt, of the Greeks. No ſooner had he repaſſed the Helleſpont, than he iſſued a mandate to ſuppreſs their penſion, and to expel their officers from the banks of the Strymon: in this meaſure he betrayed an hoſtile mind; and the ſecond order announced, and in ſome degree commenced, the ſiege of Conſtantinople. In the narrow paſs of the Boſphorus, an Aſiatic fortreſs had formerly been raiſed by his grandfather: in the oppoſite ſituation, on the European ſide, he reſolved to erect a more formidable caſtle; and a thouſand maſons were commanded to aſſemble in the ſpring on a ſpot named Aſomaton, about five miles from the Greek metropolis[12]. Perſuaſion is the reſource of the feeble; and the feeble can ſeldom perſuade: the ambaſſadors of the emperor attempted, without ſucceſs, to divert Mahomet from the execution of his deſign. They repreſented that his grandfather had ſolicited the permiſſion of Manuel to build a caſtle on his own territories; but that this double [illegible], which would command the [illegible] could only tend to violate the [illegible], to intercept the La[illegible], and perhaps to [illegible].

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[12] The ſituation [illegible] the [illegible] hiſtory.

city. "I form no enterpriſe," replied the perfidious ſultan, "againſt the city; but the empire "of Conſtantinople is meaſured by her walls. "Have you forgot the diſtreſs to which my father was reduced when you formed a league "with the Hungarians: when they invaded our "country by land, and the Helleſpont was occupied by the French gallies? Amurath was "compelled to force the paſſage of the Boſphorus; and your ſtrength was not equal to "your malevolence. I was then a child at Adrianople; the Moſlems trembled; and for a while "the *Gabours*[13] inſulted our diſgrace. But when "my father had triumphed in the field of Warna, "he vowed to erect a fort on the weſtern ſhore, "and that vow it is my duty to accompliſh. "Have ye the right, have ye the power, to control my actions on my own ground? For that "ground *is* my own: as far as the ſhores of the "Boſphorus, Aſia is inhabited by the Turks, and "Europe is deſerted by the Romans. Return, and "inform your king that the preſent Ottoman is far "different from his predeceſſors: that *his* reſolutions ſurpaſs *their* wiſhes; and that *he* performs "more than *they* could reſolve. Return in ſafety "—but the next who delivers a ſimilar meſſage "may expect to be flayed alive." After this declaration, Conſtantine, the firſt of the Greeks in ſpirit as in rank[14], had determined to unſheathe the ſword, and to reſiſt the approach and eſtabliſhment of the Turks on the Boſphorus. He was diſarmed by the advice of his civil and eccleſiaſtical miniſters, who recommended a ſyſtem leſs generous, and even leſs prudent, than his own, to approve their patience and long-ſuffering, to brand the Ottoman with the name and guilt of an aggreſſor, and to depend on chance and time for their own ſafety, and the deſtruction of a fort which could not long be maintained in the neighbourhood of a great and populous city. Amidſt hope and fear, the fears of the wiſe and the hopes of the credulous, the winter rolled away; the proper buſineſs of each man, and each hour, was poſtponed; and the Greeks ſhut their eyes againſt the impending danger, till the arrival of the ſpring and the ſultan decided the aſſurance of their ruin.

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[13] The opprobrious name which the Turks beſtow on the Infidels, is expreſſed Καβουρ by Ducas, and *Giaour* by Leunclavius and the moderns. The former term is derived by Ducange (Gloſs. Græc. tom. i. p. 530.) from Καβουρι, in vulgar Greek, a tortoiſe, as denoting a retrograde motion from the faith. But, alas! *Gabour* is no more than *Gheber*, which was transferred from the Perſian to the Turkiſh language, from the worſhippers of fire to thoſe of the crucifix (d'Herbelot, Bibliot. Orient. p. 375.).

He builds a fortreſs on the Boſphorus, A.D. 1452, March.

Of a maſter who never forgives, the orders are ſeldom diſobeyed. On the twenty-ſixth of March, the appointed ſpot of Aſomaton was covered with an active ſwarm of Turkiſh artificers; and the materials by ſea and land were diligently tranſported from Europe and Aſia[15]. The lime had been burnt in Cataphrygia; the timber was cut down in the woods of Heraclea and Nicomedia; and the ſtones were dug from the Anatolian quarries. Each of the thouſand maſons was aſſiſted by two workmen; and a meaſure of two cubits was marked for their daily taſk. The fortreſs[16] was built in a triangular form; each angle was flanked by a ſtrong and maſſy tower; one on the declivity of the hill, two along the ſea-ſhore: a thickneſs of twenty-two feet was aſſigned for the walls, thirty for the towers; and the whole building was covered with a ſolid platform of lead. Mahomet himſelf preſſed and directed the work with indefatigable ardour: his three vizirs claimed the honour of finiſhing their reſpective towers; the zeal of the cadhis emulated that of the janizaries; the meaneſt labour was ennobled by the ſervice of God and the ſultan; and the diligence of the multitude was quickened by the eye of a deſpot, whoſe ſmile was the hope of fortune, and whoſe frown was the meſſenger of death. The Greek emperor beheld with terror the irreſiſtible progreſs of the work; and vainly ſtrove, by flattery and gifts, to aſſuage an implacable foe, who ſought, and ſecretly fomented, the ſlighteſt occaſion of a quarrel. Such occaſions muſt ſoon and inevitably be found. The ruins of ſtately churches, and even the marble columns which had been conſecrated to St. Michael the archangel,

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[14] Phranza does juſtice to his maſter's ſenſe and courage. Calliditatem hominis non ignorans Imperator prior arma movere conſtituit, and ſtigmatiſes the folly of the cum ſacri tum profani proceres, which he had heard, amentes ſpe vâna paſci. Ducas was not a privy-counſellor.

[15] Inſtead of this clear and conſiſtent account, the Turkiſh Annals (Cantemir, p. 97.) revived the fooliſh tale of the ox's hide

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hide, and Dido's ſtratagem in the foundation of Carthage. Theſe annals (unleſs we are ſwayed by an anti-chriſtian prejudice) are far leſs valuable than the Greek hiſtorians.

[16] [illegible] caſtles of Europe, Phranza [illegible] ([illegible]), whoſe deſcription has been [illegible].

were employed without ſcruple by the profane and rapacious Moſlems; and ſome Chriſtians, who preſumed to oppoſe the removal, received from their hands the crown of martyrdom. Conſtantine had ſolicited a Turkiſh guard to protect the fields and harveſts of his ſubjects: the guard was fixed; but their firſt order was to allow free paſture to the mules and horſes of the camp, and to defend their brethren if they ſhould be moleſted by the natives. The retinue of an Ottoman chief had left their horſes to paſs the night among the ripe corn: the damage was felt; the inſult was reſented; and ſeveral of both nations were ſlain in a tumultuous conflict. Mahomet liſtened with joy to the complaint; and a detachment was commanded to exterminate the guilty village: the guilty had fled; but forty innocent and unſuſpecting reapers were maſſacred by the ſoldiers. Till this provocation, Conſtantinople had been open to the viſits of commerce and curioſity: on the firſt alarm, the gates were ſhut; but the emperor, ſtill anxious for peace, releaſed on the third day his Turkiſh captives[17]; and expreſſed, in a laſt meſſage, the firm reſignation of a Chriſtian and a ſoldier. "Since neither "oaths, nor treaty, nor ſubmiſſion, can ſecure "peace, purſue," ſaid he to Mahomet, "your "impious warfare. My truſt is in God alone: "if it ſhould pleaſe him to mollify your heart, I "ſhall rejoice in the happy change; if he delivers

The Turkiſh war, June;

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[17] Among theſe were ſome pages of Mahomet, ſo conſcious of his inexorable rigour, that they begged to loſe their heads in the city unleſs they could return before ſunſet.

"the city into your hands, I ſubmit without a "murmur to his holy will. But until the Judge "of the earth ſhall pronounce between us, it is "my duty to live and die in the defence of my "people." The ſultan's anſwer was hoſtile and deciſive: his fortifications were completed; and before his departure for Adrianople, he ſtationed a vigilant Aga and four hundred Janizaries, to levy a tribute of the ſhips of every nation that ſhould paſs within the reach of their cannon. A Venetian veſſel, refuſing obedience to the new lords of the Boſphorus, was ſunk with a ſingle bullet. The maſter and thirty ſailors eſcaped in the boat; but they were dragged in chains to the *porte*: the chief was impaled; his companions were beheaded; and the hiſtorian Ducas beheld, at Demotica, their bodies expoſed to the wild beaſts. The ſiege of Conſtantinople was deferred till the enſuing ſpring; but an Ottoman army marched into the Morea to divert the force of the brothers of Conſtantine. At this æra of calamity, one of these princes, the deſpot Thomas, was bleſſed or afflicted with the birth of a ſon; "the "laſt heir," ſays the plaintive Phranza, "of the "laſt ſpark of the Roman empire[13]."

Sept. 1.

A. D. 1453, Jan. 17.

Preparations for the ſiege of Con-

The Greeks and the Turks paſſed an anxious and ſleepleſs winter: the former were kept awake by their fears, the latter by their hopes; both by

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[12] Ducas, c. 35. Phranza (l. iii. c. 3.) who had ſailed in his veſſel, commemorates the Venetian pilot as a martyr.

[13] Auctum eſt Palæologorum genus, et Imperii ſucceſſor, parvæque Romanorum ſcintillæ hæres natus, Andreas, &c. (Phranza, l. iii. c. 7.). The ſtrong expreſſion was inſpired by his feelings.

the

ſtantinople, A. D. 1452, September—A. D. 1453, April.

the preparations of defence and attack; and the two emperors, who had the moſt to loſe or to gain, were the moſt deeply affected by the national ſentiment. In Mahomet, that ſentiment was inflamed by the ardour of his youth and temper: he amuſed his leiſure with building at Adrianople[20] the lofty palace of Jehan Numa (the watch-tower of the world); but his ſerious thoughts were irrevocably bent on the conqueſt of the city of Cæſar. At the dead of night, about the ſecond watch, he ſtarted from his bed, and commanded the inſtant attendance of his prime vizir. The meſſage, the hour, the prince, and his own ſituation, alarmed the guilty conſcience of Calil Baſha; who had poſſeſſed the confidence, and adviſed the reſtoration, of Amurath. On the acceſſion of the ſon, the vizir was confirmed in his office and the appearances of favour; but the veteran ſtateſman was not inſenſible that he trod on a thin and ſlippery ice, which might break under his footſteps, and plunge him in the abyſs. His friendſhip for the Chriſtians, which might be innocent under the late reign, had ſtigmatiſed him with the name of Gabour Ortachi, or foſter-brother of the infidels[21]; and his avarice entertained a venal and treaſonable correſpondence, which was detected and puniſhed after the concluſion of the war. On receiving the royal mandate, he embraced, perhaps for the laſt time, his wife and children; filled a cup with pieces of gold, haſtened to the palace, adored the ſultan, and offered, according to the Oriental cuſtom, the ſlight tribute of his duty and gratitude[22]. "It is "not my wiſh," ſaid Mahomet, "to reſume my "gifts, but rather to heap and multiply them on "thy head. In my turn I aſk a preſent far more "valuable and important;—Conſtantinople." As ſoon as the vizir had recovered from his ſurpriſe, "the ſame God," ſaid he, "who has "already given thee ſo large a portion of the "Roman empire, will not deny the remnant, "and the capital. His providence, and thy "power, aſſure thy ſucceſs; and myſelf, with "the reſt of thy faithful ſlaves, will ſacrifice our "lives and fortunes." "Lala[23]," (or preceptor), continued the ſultan, "do you ſee this pillow? "all the night, in my agitation, I have pulled it "on one ſide and the other; I have riſen from "my bed, again have I lain down; yet ſleep has "not viſited theſe weary eyes. Beware of the "gold and ſilver of the Romans: in arms we

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[20] Cantemir, p. 97, 98. The ſultan was either doubtful of his conqueſt, or ignorant of the ſuperior merits of Conſtantinople. A city or a kingdom may ſometimes be ruined by the Imperial fortune of their ſovereign.

[21] Σύντροφος, by the preſident Couſin, is tranſlated *père nourricier*, moſt correctly indeed from the Latin verſion; but in his haſte, he has overlooked the note by which Iſmael Boillaud (ad Ducam, c. 35.) acknowledges and rectifies his own error.

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[22] The Oriental cuſtom of never appearing without gifts before a ſovereign or a ſuperior is of high antiquity, and ſeems analogous with the idea of ſacrifice, ſtill more ancient and univerſal. See the examples of ſuch Perſian gifts, Ælian, Hiſt. Var. l. i. c. 31, 32, 33.

[23] The *Lala* of the Turks (Cantemir, p. 34.), and the *Tata* of the Greeks (Ducas, c. 35.) are derived from the natural language of children; and it may be obſerved, that all ſuch primitive words which denote their parents, are the ſimple repetition of one ſyllable, compoſed of a labial or dental conſonant and an open vowel (Des Broſſes, Mechaniſme des Langues, tom. i. p. 231—247.).

"are

" are ſuperior; and with the aid of God, and " the prayers of the prophet, we ſhall ſpeedily " become maſters of Conſtantinople." To ſound the diſpoſition of his ſoldiers, he often wandered through the ſtreets alone, and in diſguiſe: and it was fatal to diſcover the ſultan, when he wiſhed to eſcape from the vulgar eye. His hours were ſpent in delineating the plan of the hoſtile city: in debating with his generals and engineers, on what ſpot he ſhould erect his batteries; on which ſide he ſhould aſſault the walls; where he ſhould ſpring the mines; to what place he ſhould apply his ſcaling ladders: and the exerciſes of the day repeated and proved the lucubrations of the night.

The great cannon of Mahomet.

Among the implements of deſtruction, he ſtudied with peculiar care the recent and tremendous diſcovery of the Latins; and his artillery ſurpaſſed whatever had yet appeared in the world. A founder of cannon, a Dane or Hungarian, who had been almoſt ſtarved in the Greek ſervice, deſerted to the Moſlems, and was liberally entertained by the Turkiſh ſultan. Mahomet was ſatiſfied with the anſwer to his firſt queſtion, which he eagerly preſſed on the artiſt. " Am I able to " caſt a cannon capable of throwing a ball or " ſtone of ſufficient ſize to batter the walls of " Conſtantinople?" " I am not ignorant of their " ſtrength, but were they more ſolid than thoſe " of Babylon, I could oppoſe an engine of ſuperior power: the poſition and management of " that engine muſt be left to your engineers." On this aſſurance, a foundery was eſtabliſhed at Adrianople: the metal was prepared; and at the end of three months, Urban produced a piece of braſs ordnance of ſtupendous, and almoſt incredible magnitude; a meaſure of twelve palms is aſſigned to the bore; and the ſtone bullet weighed above ſix hundred pounds[24]. A vacant place before the new palace was choſen for the firſt experiment; but to prevent the ſudden and miſchievous effects of aſtoniſhment and fear, a proclamation was iſſued, that the cannon would be diſcharged the enſuing day. The exploſion was felt or heard in a circuit of an hundred furlongs: the ball, by the force of gunpowder, was driven above a mile; and on the ſpot where it fell, it buried itſelf a fathom deep in the ground. For the conveyance of this deſtructive engine, a frame or carriage of thirty waggons was linked together and drawn along by a team of ſixty oxen: two hundred men on both ſides were ſtationed to poiſe and ſupport the rolling weight; two hundred and fifty workmen marched before to ſmooth the way and repair the bridges; and near two months were employed in a laborious journey of one hundred and fifty miles. A lively philoſopher[25] derides, on this occaſion, the credulity of the Greeks, and obſerves, with much reaſon, that we ſhould always diſtruſt the exaggerations of a vanquiſhed people. He calculates, that a ball, even of two hundred pounds, would require a charge of one hundred and fifty pounds of powder; and that the ſtroke would be feeble and impotent, ſince not a fifteenth part of the maſs could be inflamed at the ſame moment. A ſtranger as I am to the art of deſtruction, I can diſcern that the modern improvements of artillery prefer the number of pieces to the weight of metal; the quickneſs of the fire to the ſound, or even the conſequence, of a ſingle exploſion. Yet I dare not reject the poſitive and unanimous evidence of contemporary writers; nor can it ſeem improbable, that the firſt artiſts, in their rude and ambitious efforts, ſhould have tranſgreſſed the ſtandard of moderation. A Turkiſh cannon, more enormous than that of Mahomet, ſtill guards the entrance of the Dardanelles; and if the uſe be inconvenient, it has been found on a late trial that the effect was far from contemptible. A ſtone bullet of *eleven* hundred pounds weight was once diſcharged with three hundred and thirty pounds of powder; at the diſtance of ſix hundred yards it ſhivered into three rocky fragments, traverſed the ſtreight, and, leaving the waters in a foam, again roſe and bounded againſt the oppoſite hill[76].

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[24] The Attic talent weighed about ſixty minæ, or avoirdupois pounds (ſee Hooper on Ancient Weights, Meaſures, &c.); but among the modern Greeks, that claſſic appellation was extended to a weight of one hundred, or one hundred and twenty-five pounds (Ducange, τάλαντον). Leonardus Chienſis meaſured the ball or ſtone of the ſecond cannon: Lapidem, qui palmis undecim ex meis ambibat in gyro.

[25] See Voltaire (Hiſt. Générale, c. xci. p. 294, 295.). He was ambitious of univerſal monarchy; and the poet frequently aſpires to the name and ſtyle of an aſtronomer, a chymiſt, &c.

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[76] The Baron de Tott (tom. iii. p. 85—89.), who fortified the Dardanelles againſt the Ruſſians, deſcribes in a lively, and even comic, ſtrain his own proweſs, and the conſternation of the Turks. But that adventurous traveller does not poſſeſs the art of gaining our confidence.

Mahomet II. forms the ſiege of Conſtantinople, A. D. 1453. April 6.

While Mahomet threatened the capital of the Eaſt, the Greek emperor implored with fervent prayers the aſſiſtance of earth and heaven. But the inviſible powers were deaf to his ſupplications; and Chriſtendom beheld with indifference the fall of Conſtantinople, while ſhe derived at leaſt ſome promiſe of ſupply from the jealous and temporal policy of the ſultan of Egypt. Some ſtates were too weak, and others too remote; by ſome the danger was conſidered as imaginary, by others as inevitable: the Weſtern princes were involved in their endleſs and domeſtic quarrels; and the Roman pontiff was exaſperated by the falſehood or obſtinacy of the Greeks. Inſtead of employing in their favour the arms and treaſures of Italy, Nicholas the fifth had foretold their approaching ruin; and his honour was engaged in the accompliſhment of his propheſy. Perhaps he was ſoftened by the laſt extremity of their diſtreſs; but his compaſſion was tardy; his efforts were faint and unavailing; and Conſtantinople had fallen, before the ſquadrons of Genoa and Venice could ſail from their harbours[27]. Even the princes of the Morea and of the Greek iſlands affected a cold neutrality: the Genoeſe colony of Galatia negotiated a private treaty; and the ſultan indulged them in the deluſive hope, that by his clemency they might ſurvive the ruin of the empire.

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[27] Non audivit, indignum ducens, ſays the honeſt Antoninus; but as the Roman court was afterwards grieved and aſhamed, we find the more courtly expreſſion of Platina, in animo fuiſſe pontifici juvare Græcos, and the poſitive aſſertion of Æneas Sylvius, ſtructam claſſem, &c. (Spond. A. D. 1453, N° 3.).

pire. A plebeian crowd, and ſome Byzantine nobles, baſely withdrew from the danger of their country; and the avarice of the rich denied the emperor, and reſerved for the Turks, the ſecret treaſures which might have raiſed in their defence whole armies of mercenaries [28]. The indigent and ſolitary prince prepared however to ſuſtain his formidable adverſary; but if his courage were equal to the peril, his ſtrength was inadequate to the conteſt. In the beginning of the ſpring, the Turkiſh vanguard ſwept the towns and villages as far as the gates of Conſtantinople: ſubmiſſion was ſpared and protected; whatever preſumed to reſiſt was exterminated with fire and ſword. The Greek places on the Black Sea, Meſembria, Acheloum, and Bizon, ſurrendered on the firſt ſummons; Selybria alone deſerved the honours of a ſiege or blockade; and the bold inhabitants, while they were inveſted by land, launched their boats, pillaged the oppoſite coaſt of Cyzicus, and ſold their captives in the public market. But on the approach of Mahomet himſelf all was ſilent and proſtrate; he firſt halted at the diſtance of five miles; and from thence advancing in battle array, planted before the gate of St. Romanus the imperial ſtandard; and on the ſixth day of April, formed the memorable ſiege of Conſtantinople.

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[28] Antonin. in Proem.—Epiſt. Cardinal. Iſidor. apud Spondanum; and Dr. Johnſon, in the tragedy of Irene, has happily ſeized this characteriſtic circumſtance:

> The groaning Greeks dig up the golden caverns,
> The accumulated wealth of hoarding ages;
> That wealth which, granted to their weeping prince,
> Had rang'd embattled nations at their gates.

Forces of the Turks,

The troops of Aſia and Europe extended on the right and left from the Propontis to the harbour: the Janizaries in the front were ſtationed before the ſultan's tent; the Ottoman line was covered by a deep entrenchment; and a ſubordinate army incloſed the ſuburb of Galata, and watched the doubtful faith of the Genoeſe. The inquiſitive Philelphus, who reſided in Greece about thirty years before the ſiege, is confident, that all the Turkiſh forces, of any name or value, could not exceed the number of ſixty thouſand horſe and twenty thouſand foot; and he upbraids the puſillanimity of the nations, who had tamely yielded to a handful of Barbarians. Such indeed might be the regular eſtabliſhment of the *Capiculi*[29], the troops of the Porte, who marched with the prince, and were paid from his royal treaſury. But the baſhaws, in their reſpective governments, maintained or levied a provincial militia; many lands were held by a military tenure; many volunteers were attracted by the hope of ſpoil; and the ſound of the holy trumpet invited a ſwarm of hungry and fearleſs fanatics, who might contribute at leaſt to multiply the terrors, and in a firſt attack to blunt the ſwords, of the Chriſtians. The whole maſs of the Turkiſh powers is magnified by

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[29] The palatine troops are ſtyled *Capiculi*, [illegible]

Ducas, Chalcocondyles, and Leonard of Chios, to the amount of three or four hundred thouſand men; but Phranza was a leſs remote and more accurate judge; and his preciſe definition of two hundred and fifty-eight thouſand does not exceed the meaſure of experience and probability[30]. The navy of the beſiegers was leſs formidable: the Propontis was overſpread with three hundred and twenty ſail; but of theſe no more than eighteen could be rated as gallies of war; and the far greater part muſt be degraded to the condition of ſtoreſhips and tranſports, which poured into the camp freſh ſupplies of men, ammunition, and proviſions. In her laſt decay, Conſtantinople was ſtill peopled with more than an hundred thouſand inhabitants; but theſe numbers are found in the accounts, not of war, but of captivity; and they moſtly conſiſted of mechanics, of prieſts, of women, and of men devoid of that ſpirit which even women have ſometimes exerted for the common ſafety. I can ſuppoſe, I could almoſt excuſe, the reluctance of ſubjects to ſerve on a diſtant frontier, at the will of a tyrant; but the man who dares not expoſe his life in the defence of his children and his property has loſt in ſociety the firſt and moſt active energies of nature. By the emperor's command, a particular enquiry had been made through the ſtreets and houſes, how

of the Greeks.

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[30] The calculation of Philelphus is approved by Cuſpinian in the year 1508 (de Cæſaribus, in Epilog. de Militiâ Turcicâ, p. 697). Marſigli proves, that the effective armies of the Turks are much leſs numerous than they appear. In the army that beſieged Conſtantinople, Leonardus Chienſis reckons no more than 15,000 Janizaries.

many of the citizens, or even of the monks, were able and willing to bear arms for their country. The liſts were intruſted to Phranza[31]; and, after a diligent addition, he informed his maſter, with grief and ſurpriſe, that the national defence was reduced to four thouſand nine hundred and ſeventy *Romans*. Between Conſtantine and his faithful miniſter, this comfortleſs ſecret was preſerved; and a ſufficient proportion of ſhields, croſs-bows, and muſkets, was diſtributed from the arſenal to the city bands. They derived ſome acceſſion from a body of two thouſand ſtrangers, under the command of John Juſtiniani, a noble Genoeſe; a liberal donative was advanced to theſe auxiliaries; and a princely recompence, the iſle of Lemnos, was promiſed to the valour and victory of their chief. A ſtrong chain was drawn acroſs the mouth of the harbour: it was ſupported by ſome Greek and Italian veſſels of war and merchandiſe; and the ſhips of every Chriſtian nation, that ſucceſſively arrived from Candia and the Black Sea, were detained for the public ſervice. Againſt the powers of the Ottoman empire, a city of the extent of thirteen, perhaps of ſixteen, miles was defended by a ſcanty garriſon of ſeven or eight thouſand ſoldiers. Europe and Aſia were open to the beſiegers; but the ſtrength and proviſions of the

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[31] Ego, eidem (Imp.) tabellas extribui non abſque dolore et mœſtitia, manſitque apud nos duos aliis occultus numerus (Phranza, l. iii. c. 8). With ſome indulgence for national prejudices, we cannot deſire a more authentic witneſs, not only of public facts, but of private counſels.

Greeks muſt ſuſtain a daily decreaſe; nor could they indulge the expectation of any foreign ſuccour or ſupply.

False union of the two churches, A. D. 1452, Dec. 12.

The primitive Romans would have drawn their ſwords in the reſolution of death or conqueſt. The primitive Chriſtians might have embraced each other, and awaited in patience and charity the ſtroke of martyrdom. But the Greeks of Conſtantinople were animated only by the ſpirit of religion, and that ſpirit was productive only of animoſity and diſcord. Before his death, the emperor John Palæologus had renounced the unpopular meaſure of an union with the Latins; nor was the idea revived, till the diſtreſs of his brother Conſtantine impoſed a laſt trial of flattery and diſſimulation[32]. With the demand of temporal aid, his ambaſſadors were inſtructed to mingle the aſſurance of ſpiritual obedience: his neglect of the church was excuſed by the urgent cares of the ſtate: and his orthodox wiſhes ſolicited the preſence of a Roman legate. The Vatican had been too often deluded; yet the ſigns of repentance could not decently be overlooked; a legate was more eaſily granted than an army; and about ſix months before the final deſtruction, the cardinal Iſidore of Ruſſia appeared in that character with a retinue of prieſts and ſoldiers. The emperor ſaluted him as a friend and father, reſpectfully liſtened to his public and private ſermons; and with the moſt obſequious of the clergy and laymen ſubſcribed the act of union, as it had been ratified in the council of Florence. On the twelfth of December, the two nations, in the church of St. Sophia, joined in the communion of ſacrifice and prayer; and the names of the two pontiffs were ſolemnly commemorated; the names of Nicholas the Fifth, the vicar of Chriſt, and of the patriarch Gregory who had been driven into exile by a rebellious people.

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[32] In Spondanus, the narrative of the union is not only partial, but imperfect. The biſhop of Pamiers died in 1642, and the hiſtory of Ducas, which repreſents theſe ſcenes (c. 36, 37.) with ſuch truth and ſpirit, was not printed till the year 1649.

Obſtinacy and fanaticiſm of the Greeks.

But the dreſs and language of the Latin prieſt who officiated at the altar, were an object of ſcandal; and it was obſerved with horror, that he conſecrated a cake or wafer of *unleavened* bread, and poured cold water into the cup of the ſacrament. A national hiſtorian acknowledges with a bluſh, that none of his countrymen, not the emperor himſelf, were ſincere in this occaſional conformity[33]. Their haſty and unconditional ſubmiſſion was palliated by a promiſe of future reviſal; but the beſt, or the worſt, of their excuſes was the confeſſion of their own perjury. When they were preſſed by the reproaches of their honeſt brethren, "Have patience," they whiſpered, "have patience till God ſhall have "delivered the city from the great dragon who "ſeeks to devour us. You ſhall then perceive "whether we are truly reconciled with the Azy-"mites." But patience is not the attribute of

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[33] Phranza, one of the conforming Greeks, acknowledges that the meaſure was [illegible]

[illegible] nor can the arts of a court be adapted to the freedom and violence of popular enthuſiaſm. From the dome of St. Sophia, the inhabitants of either ſex, and of every degree, ruſhed in crowds to the cell of the monk Gennadius [54], to conſult the oracle of the church. The holy man was inviſible; entranced, as it ſhould ſeem, in deep meditation, or divine rapture; but he had expoſed on the door of his cell, a ſpeaking tablet; and they ſucceſſively withdrew after reading theſe tremendous words: "O miſerable Romans, why "will ye abandon the truth; and why, inſtead "of confiding in God, will ye put your truſt in "the Italians? In loſing your faith, you will "loſe your city. Have mercy on me, O Lord! "I proteſt in thy preſence, that I am innocent "of the crime. O miſerable Romans, conſider, "pauſe, and repent. At the ſame moment that "you renounce the religion of your fathers, by "embracing impiety, you ſubmit to a foreign "ſervitude." According to the advice of Gennadius, the religious virgins, as pure as angels and as proud as dæmons, rejected the act of union, and abjured all communion with the preſent and future aſſociates of the Latins; and their example was applauded and imitated by the greateſt part of the clergy and people. From the monaſtery, the devout Greeks diſperſed themſelves in the taverns; drank confuſion to the ſlaves of the pope; emptied their glaſſes in honour of the image of the holy Virgin; and beſought her to defend againſt Mahomet, the city which ſhe had formerly ſaved from Chofroes and the Chagan. In the double intoxication of zeal and wine, they valiantly exclaimed, "What occaſion have we for "ſuccour, or union, or Latins? far from us be "the worſhip of the Azymites!" During the winter that preceded the Turkiſh conqueſt, the nation was diſtracted by this epidemical frenzy; and the ſeaſon of Lent, the approach of Eaſter, inſtead of breathing charity and love, ſerved only to fortify the obſtinacy and influence of the zealots. The confeſſors ſcrutinized and alarmed the conſcience of their votaries, and a rigorous penance was impoſed on thoſe, who had received the communion from a prieſt, who had given an expreſs or tacit conſent to the union. His ſervice at the altar propagated the infection to the mute and ſimple ſpectators of the ceremony: they forfeited, by the impure ſpectacle, the virtue of the ſacerdotal character; nor was it lawful, even in danger of ſudden death, to invoke the aſſiſtance of their prayers or abſolution. No ſooner had the church of St. Sophia been polluted by the Latin ſacrifice, than it was deſerted as a Jewiſh ſynagogue, or an heathen temple, by the clergy and people: and a vaſt and gloomy ſilence prevailed in that venerable dome, which had ſo often ſmoked with a cloud of incenſe, blazed with innumerable lights, and reſounded with the voice of prayer and thankſgiving. The Latins were the moſt odious of heretics and infidels; and the firſt miniſter of the empire, the great duke, was heard to declare, that he had rather behold in Conſtantinople the turban of Mahomet, than the pope's tiara or a cardinal's hat [35]. A ſentiment ſo unworthy of Chriſtians and patriots, was familiar and fatal to the Greeks: the emperor was deprived of the affection and ſupport of his ſubjects; and their native cowardice was ſanctified by reſignation to the divine decree, or the viſionary hope of a miraculous deliverance.

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[54] His primitive and ſecular name was George Scholarius, which he changed for that of Gennadius, either when he became a monk or a patriarch. His defence, at Florence, of the ſame union which he ſo furiouſly attacked at Conſtantinople, has tempted Leo Allatius (Diatrib. de Georgiis, in Fabric. Bibliot. Græc. tom. x. p. 760—786.) to divide him into two men; but Renaudot (p. 343—383.) has reſtored the identity of his perſon and the duplicity of his character.

Siege of Conſtantinople by Mahomet II. A. D. 1453, April 6 — May 29.

Of the triangle which compoſes the figure of Conſtantinople, the two ſides along the ſea were made inacceſſible to an enemy; the Propontis by nature, and the harbour by art. Between the two waters, the baſis of the triangle, the land ſide was protected by a double wall, and a deep ditch of the depth of one hundred feet. Againſt this line of fortification, which Phranza, an eye-witneſs, prolongs to the meaſure of ſix miles [36], the Ottomans directed their principal attack; and the emperor, after diſtributing the ſervice and command of the moſt perilous ſtations, undertook the defence of the external wall. In the firſt days of the ſiege, the Greek ſoldiers deſcended into the ditch, or ſallied into the field; but they ſoon diſcovered, that in the proportion of their numbers, one chriſtian was of more value than twenty Turks: and, after theſe bold preludes, they were prudently content to maintain the rampart with their miſſile weapons. Nor ſhould this prudence be accuſed of puſillanimity. The nation was indeed puſillanimous and baſe; but the laſt Conſtantine deſerves the name of an hero: his noble band of volunteers was inſpired with Roman virtue; and the foreign auxiliaries ſupported the honour of the Weſtern chivalry. The inceſſant vollies of lances and arrows were accompanied with the ſmoke, the ſound, and the fire of their muſketry and cannon. Their ſmall arms diſcharged at the ſame time either five, or even ten, balls of lead, of the ſize of a walnut; and, according to the cloſeneſs of the ranks and the force of the powder, ſeveral breaſt-plates and bodies were tranſpierced by the ſame ſhot. But the Turkiſh approaches were ſoon ſunk in trenches, or covered with ruins. Each day added to the ſcience of the Chriſtians; but their inadequate ſtock of gunpowder was waſted in the operations of each day. Their ordnance was not powerful, either in ſize or number; and if they poſſeſſed ſome heavy cannon, they feared to plant them on the walls, leſt the aged ſtructure ſhould be ſhaken and overthrown by the exploſion[31]. The ſame deſtructive ſecret had been revealed to the Moſlems; by whom it was employed with the ſuperior energy of zeal, riches, and deſpotiſm. The great cannon of Mahomet has been ſeparately noticed; an important and viſible object in the hiſtory of the times: but that enormous engine was flanked by two fellows almoſt of equal magnitude[38]: the long order of the Turkiſh artillery was pointed againſt the walls; fourteen batteries thundered at once on the moſt acceſſible places; and of one of theſe it is ambiguouſly expreſſed, that it was mounted with one hundred and thirty guns, or that it diſcharged one hundred and thirty bullets. Yet, in the power and activity of the ſultan, we may diſcern the infancy of the new ſcience. Under a maſter who counted the moments, the great cannon could be loaded and fired no more than ſeven times in one day[39]. The heated metal unfortunately burſt; ſeveral workmen were deſtroyed; and the ſkill of an artiſt was admired who bethought himſelf of preventing the danger and the accident, by pouring oil, after each exploſion, into the mouth of the cannon.

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[35] Φακιολιον, καλυπτρα, may be fairly tranſlated a cardinal's hat. The difference of the Greek and Latin habits embittered the ſchiſm.

[36] We are obliged to reduce the Greek miles to the ſmalleſt meaſure which is preſerved in the werſts of Ruſſia, of 547 French toiſes, and of 104 2/5 to a degree. The ſix miles of Phranza do not exceed four Engliſh miles (d'Anville, Meſures Itineraires, p. 61. 123, &c.).

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[31] At in dies doctiores noſtri facti paravere contra hoſtes machinamenta, quæ tamen avare dabantur. Pulvis erat nitri modica exigua; tela modica; bombardæ, ſi aderant, incommoditate loci primum

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murum hoſtes offendere maceriebus alveiſque teſtos non poterant. Nam ſi quæ magnæ erant, ne murus concuteretur noſter, quieſcebant. This paſſage of Leonardus Chienſis is curious and important.

[38] According to Chalcocondyles and Phranza, the great cannon burſt; an accident which, according to Ducas, was prevented by the artiſt's ſkill. It is evident that they do not ſpeak of the ſame gun.

[39] Near an hundred years after the ſiege of Conſtantinople, the French and Engliſh fleets in the Channel were proud of firing 300 ſhot in an engagement of two hours (Memoires de Martin du Bellay, l. x. in the Collection Generale, tom. xxi. p. 239).

Attack and defence.

The firſt random ſhots were productive of more ſound than effect: and it was by the advice of a Chriſtian, that the engineers were taught to level their aim againſt the two oppoſite ſides of the ſalient angles of a baſtion. However imperfect, the weight and repetition of the fire made ſome impreſſion on the walls; and the Turks, puſhing their approaches to the edge of the ditch, attempted to fill the enormous chaſm, and to build a road to the aſſault [40]. Innumerable faſcines, and hogſheads, and trunks of trees, were heaped on each other; and ſuch was the impetuoſity of the throng, that the foremoſt and the weakeſt were puſhed headlong down the precipice, and inſtantly buried under the accumulated maſs. To fill the ditch was the toil of the beſiegers; to clear away the rubbiſh, was the ſafety of the beſieged; and, after a long and bloody conflict, the web that had been woven in the day was ſtill unravelled in the night. The next reſource of Mahomet was the practice of mines; but the ſoil was rocky; in every attempt he was ſtopped and undermined by the Chriſtian engineers; nor had the art been yet invented of repleniſhing thoſe ſubterraneous paſſages with gunpowder, and blowing whole towers and cities into the air [41]. A circumſtance that diſtinguiſhes the ſiege of Conſtantinople, is the re-union of the ancient and modern artillery. The cannon were intermingled with the mechanical engines for caſting ſtones and darts; the bullet and the battering-ram were directed againſt the ſame walls; nor had the diſcovery of gunpowder ſuperſeded the uſe of the liquid and unextinguiſhable fire. A wooden turret of the largeſt ſize was advanced on rollers: this portable magazine of ammunition and faſcines was protected by a threefold covering of bulls hides; inceſſant vollies were ſecurely diſcharged from the loop-holes; in the front, three doors were contrived for the alternate ſally and retreat of the ſoldiers and workmen. They aſcended by a ſtair-caſe to the upper platform, and as high as the level of that platform, a ſcaling-ladder could be raiſed by pullies to form a bridge and grapple with the adverſe rampart. By theſe various arts of annoyance, ſome as new as they were pernicious to the Greeks, the tower of St. Romanus was at length overturned: after a ſevere ſtruggle, the Turks were repulſed from the breach and interrupted by darkneſs; but they truſted, that with the return of light they ſhould renew the attack with freſh vigour and deciſive ſucceſs. Of this pauſe of action, this interval of hope, each moment was improved by the activity of the emperor and Juſtiniani[1], who paſſed the night on the ſpot, and urged

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[40] I have ſelected ſome curious facts, without ſtriving to emulate the bloody and obſtinate eloquence of the abbé de Vertot, in his prolix deſcriptions of the ſieges of Rhodes, Malta, &c. But that agreeable hiſtorian had a turn for romance, and as he wrote to pleaſe the order, he has adopted the ſame ſpirit of enthuſiaſm and chivalry.

[41] The firſt theory of mines with gunpowder appears in 1480, in a MS. of George of Sienna (Tiraboſchi, tom. vi. P. i. p. 324.).

They were firſt practiſed at Sarzanella, in 1487; but the honour and improvement in 1503 is aſcribed to Peter of Navarre, who uſed them with ſucceſs in the wars of Italy (Hiſt. de la Ligue de Cambray, tom. ii. p. 93—97.).

the labours which involved the ſafety of the church and city. At the dawn of day, the impatient ſultan perceived, with aſtoniſhment and grief, that his wooden turret had been reduced to aſhes: the ditch was cleared and reſtored; and the tower of St. Romanus was again ſtrong and entire. He deplored the failure of his deſign; and uttered a profane exclamation, that the word of the thirty-ſeven thouſand prophets ſhould not have compelled him to believe that ſuch a work, in ſo ſhort a time, could have been accompliſhed by the infidels.

Succour and victory of four ſhips.

The generoſity of the Chriſtian princes was cold and tardy; but in the firſt apprehenſion of a ſiege, Conſtantine had negociated, in the iſles of the Archipelago, the Morea, and Sicily, the moſt indiſpenſable ſupplies. As early as the beginning of April, five[42] great ſhips, equipped for merchandiſe and war, would have ſailed from the harbour of Chios, had not the wind blown obſtinately from the north[43]. One of theſe ſhips bore the Imperial flag; the remaining four belonged to the Genoeſe; and they were laden with wheat and barley, with wine, oil, and vegetables, and, above all, with ſoldiers and mariners, for the ſervice of the capital. After a tedious delay, a gentle breeze, and, on the ſecond day, a ſtrong gale from the ſouth, carried them through the Helleſpont and the Propontis: but the city was already inveſted by ſea and land; and the Turkiſh fleet, at the entrance of the Boſphorus, was ſtretched from ſhore to ſhore, in the form of a creſcent, to intercept, or at leaſt to repel, theſe bold auxiliaries. The reader who has preſent to his mind the geographical picture of Conſtantinople, will conceive and admire the greatneſs of the ſpectacle. The five Chriſtian ſhips continued to advance with joyful ſhouts, and a full preſs both of ſails and oars, againſt an hoſtile fleet of three hundred veſſels; and the rampart, the camp, the coaſts of Europe and Aſia, were lined with innumerable ſpectators, who anxiouſly awaited the event of this momentous ſuccour. At the firſt view that event could not appear doubtful; the ſuperiority of the Moſlems was beyond all meaſure or account; and, in a calm, their numbers and valour muſt inevitably have prevailed. But their haſty and imperfect navy had been created, not by the genius of the people, but by the will of the ſultan: in the height of their proſperity, the Turks have acknowledged, that if God had given them the earth, he had left the ſea to the infidels[44]; and a ſeries of defeats, a rapid progreſs of decay, has eſtabliſhed the truth of their modeſt confeſſion. Except eighteen gallies of ſome force, the reſt of their fleet conſiſted of open boats, rudely conſtructed and awkwardly managed, crouded with troops, and deſtitute of cannon; and, ſince courage ariſes in a great meaſure from the conſciouſneſs of ſtrength, the braveſt of the Janizaries might tremble on a new element. In the Chriſtian ſquadron, five ſtout and lofty ſhips were guided by ſkilful pilots, and manned with the veterans of Italy and Greece, long practiſed in the arts and perils of the ſea. Their weight was directed to ſink or ſcatter the weak obſtacles that impeded their paſſage: their artillery ſwept the waters: their liquid fire was poured on the heads of the adverſaries, who, with the deſign of boarding, preſumed to approach them; and the winds and waves are always on the ſide of the ableſt navigators. In this conflict, the Imperial veſſel, which had been almoſt overpowered, was reſcued by the Genoeſe; but the Turks, in a diſtant and cloſer attack, were twice repulſed with conſiderable loſs. Mahomet himſelf ſat on horſeback on the beach, to encourage their valour by his voice and preſence, by the promiſe of reward, and by fear, more potent than the fear of the enemy. The paſſions of his ſoul, and even the geſtures of his body [42], ſeemed to imitate the actions of the combatants; and, as if he had been the lord of nature, he ſpurred his horſe with a fearleſs and impotent effort into the ſea. His loud reproaches, and the clamours of the camp, urged the Ottomans to a third attack, more fatal and bloody than the two former; and I muſt repeat, though I cannot credit, the evidence of Phranza, who affirms from their own mouth, that they loſt above twelve thouſand men in the ſlaughter of the day. They fled in diſorder to the ſhores of Europe and Aſia, while the Chriſtian ſquadron, triumphant and unhurt, ſteered along the Boſphorus, and ſecurely anchored within the chain of the harbour. In the confidence of victory, they boaſted that the whole Turkiſh power muſt have yielded to their arms; but the admiral, or captain baſhaw, found ſome conſolation for a painful wound in his eye, by repreſenting that accident as the cauſe of his defeat. Baltha Ogli was a renegade of the race of the Bulgarian princes: his military character was tainted with the unpopular vice of avarice; and under the deſpotiſm of the prince or people, misfortune is a ſufficient evidence of guilt. His rank and ſervices were annihilated by the diſpleaſure of Mahomet. In the royal preſence, the captain baſhaw was extended on the ground by four ſlaves, and received one hundred ſtrokes with a golden rod[46]: his death had been pronounced; and he adored the clemency of the ſultan, who was ſatisfied with the milder puniſhment of confiſcation and exile. The introduction of this ſupply revived the hopes of

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[42] It is ſingular that the Greeks ſhould not agree in the number of theſe illuſtrious veſſels; the five of Ducas, the four of Phranza and Leonardus, and the two of Chalcondyles, muſt be extended to the ſmaller, or confined to the larger, ſize. Voltaire, in giving one of theſe ſhips to Frederic III. confounds the emperors of the Eaſt and Weſt.

[43] In bold defiance, or rather in groſs ignorance, of language and geography, the preſident Couſin detains them in Chios with a ſouth, and wafts them to Conſtantinople with a north, wind.

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[44] The perpetual decay and weakneſs of the Turkiſh navy may be obſerved in Rycaut (State of the Ottoman Empire, p. 372—378.), Thevenot (Voyages, P. i. p. 229—242.), and Tott (Memoires, tom. iii.); the laſt of whom is always ſolicitous to amuſe and amaze his reader.

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[42] I [illegible] that I have [illegible] eyes the living picture which [illegible] the paſſions [illegible] [illegible] in the great harbour [illegible]

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[46] According to the exaggeration or corrupt text of Ducas (c. 38.), this golden bar was of the enormous and incredible weight of 500 libræ, or pounds. Bouillaud's reading of 500 drachms, or five pounds, is ſufficient to exerciſe the arm of Mahomet, and bruiſe the back of his admiral.

the Greeks, and accuſed the ſupineneſs of their weſtern allies. Amidſt the deſerts of Anatolia and the rocks of Paleſtine, the millions of the cruſades had buried themſelves in a voluntary and inevitable grave; but the ſituation of the Imperial city was ſtrong againſt her enemies, and acceſſible to her friends; and a rational and moderate armament of the maritime ſtates might have ſaved the relicks of the Roman name, and maintained a Chriſtian fortreſs in the heart of the Ottoman empire. Yet this was the ſole and feeble attempt for the deliverance of Conſtantinople: the more diſtant powers were inſenſible of its danger; and the ambaſſador of Hungary, or at leaſt of Huniades, reſided in the Turkiſh camp, to remove the fears, and to direct the operations, of the ſultan[47].

Mahomet tranſports his navy over land.

It was difficult for the Greeks to penetrate the ſecret of the divan; yet the Greeks are perſuaded, that a reſiſtance, ſo obſtinate and ſurpriſing, had fatigued the perſeverance of Mahomet. He began to meditate a retreat, and the ſiege would have been ſpeedily raiſed if the ambition and jealouſy of the ſecond vizir had not oppoſed the perfidious advice of Calil Baſhaw, who ſtill maintained a ſecret correſpondence with the Byzantine court. The reduction of the city appeared to be hopeleſs, unleſs a double attack could be made from the harbour as well as from the land: but the harbour was inacceſſible: an impenetrable chain was now defended by eight large ſhips, more than twenty of a ſmaller ſize, with ſeveral gallies and ſloops; and, inſtead of forcing this barrier, the Turks might apprehend a naval ſally, and a ſecond encounter in the open ſea. In this perplexity, the genius of Mahomet conceived and executed a plan of a bold and marvellous caſt, of tranſporting by land his lighter veſſels and military ſtores from the Boſphorus into the higher part of the harbour. The diſtance is about ten miles; the ground is uneven, and was overſpread with thickets; and, as the road muſt be opened behind the ſuburb of Galata, their free paſſage or total deſtruction muſt depend on the option of the Genoeſe. But theſe ſelfiſh merchants were ambitious of the favour of being the laſt devoured; and the deficiency of art was ſupplied by the ſtrength of obedient myriads. A level way was covered with a broad platform of ſtrong and ſolid planks; and to render them more ſlippery and ſmooth, they were anointed with the fat of ſheep and oxen. Fourſcore light gallies and brigantines of fifty and thirty oars, were diſembarked on the Boſphorus ſhore; arranged ſucceſſively on rollers; and drawn forwards by the power of men and pulleys. Two guides or pilots were ſtationed at the helm, and the prow, of each veſſel; the ſails were unfurled to the winds; and the labour was cheered by ſong and acclamation. In the courſe of a ſingle night, this Turkiſh fleet painfully climbed the hill, ſteered over the plain, and was launched from the declivity into the ſhallow waters of the harbour, far above the moleſtation of the deeper veſſels of the Greeks. The real importance of this operation was magnified by the conſternation and confidence which it inſpired: but the notorious, unqueſtionable fact was diſplayed before the eyes, and is recorded by the pens of the two nations[48]. A ſimilar ſtratagem had been repeatedly practiſed by the ancients[49]; the Ottoman gallies (I muſt again repeat) ſhould be conſidered as large boats; and, if we compare the magnitude and the diſtance, the obſtacles and the means, the boaſted miracle[50] has perhaps been equalled by the induſtry of our own times[51]. As ſoon as Mahomet had occupied the upper harbour with a fleet and army; he conſtructed, in the narroweſt part, a bridge, or rather mole, of fifty cubits in breadth and one hundred in length; it was formed of caſks and hogſheads; joined with rafters linked with iron, and covered with a ſolid floor. On this floating battery, he planted one of his largeſt cannon, while the fourſcore gallies, with troops and ſcaling-ladders, approached the moſt acceſſible ſide, which had formerly been ſtormed by the Latin conquerors. The indolence of the Chriſtians has been accuſed for not deſtroying theſe unfiniſhed works; but their fire, by a ſuperior fire was controlled and ſilenced; nor were they wanting in a nocturnal attempt to burn the veſſels as well as the bridge of the ſultan. His vigilance prevented their approach; their foremoſt galliots were ſunk or taken; forty youths, the braveſt of Italy and Greece, were inhumanly maſſacred at his command; nor could the emperor's grief be aſſuaged by the juſt though cruel retaliation, of expoſing from the walls the heads of two hundred and ſixty Muſulman captives. After a ſiege of forty days, the fate of Conſtantinople could no longer be averted. The diminutive garriſon was exhauſted by a double attack: the fortifications, which had ſtood for ages againſt hoſtile violence, were diſmantled on all ſides by the Ottoman cannon: many breaches were opened; and near the gate of St. Romanus, four towers had been levelled with the ground. For the payment of his feeble and mutinous troops, Conſtantine was compelled to deſpoil the churches with the promiſe of a fourfold reſtitution; and his ſacrilege offered a new reproach to the enemies of the union. A ſpirit of diſcord impaired the remnant of the Chriſtian ſtrength: the Genoeſe and Venetian auxiliaries aſſerted the pre-eminence of their reſpective ſervice; and Juſtiniani and the great duke, whoſe ambition was not extinguiſhed by the common danger, accuſed each other of treachery and cowardice.

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[47] Ducas, who confeſſes himſelf ill informed of the affairs of Hungary, aſſigns a motive of ſuperſtition, a fatal belief that Conſtantinople would be the term of the Turkiſh conqueſts. See Phranza (l. iii. c. 20.) and Spondanus.

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[48] The unanimous teſtimony of the four Greeks is confirmed by Cantemir (p. 96.) from the Turkiſh annals; but I could wiſh to contract the diſtance of ten miles, and to prolong the term of *one* night.

[49] Phranza relates two examples of a ſimilar tranſportation over the ſix miles of the Iſthmus of Corinth; the one fabulous, of Auguſtus after the battle of Actium; the other true, of Nicetas, a Greek general in the xth century. To theſe he might have added a bold enterpriſe of Hannibal, to introduce his veſſels into the harbour of Tarentum (Polybius, l. viii. p. 749. edit. Gronov.).

[50] A Greek of Candia, who had ſerved the Venetians in a ſimilar undertaking (Spond. A.D. 1438, N° 37.), might poſſibly be the adviſer and agent of Mahomet.

[51] I particularly allude to our own embarkations on the lakes of Canada in the years 1776 and 1777, ſo great in the labour, ſo fruitleſs in the event.

Diſtreſs of the city.

During

Preparations of the Turks for the general aſſault, May 26.

During the ſiege of Conſtantinople, the words of peace and capitulation had been ſometimes pronounced; and ſeveral embaſſies had paſſed between the camp and the city[82]. The Greek emperor was humbled by adverſity; and would have yielded to any terms compatible with religion and royalty. The Turkiſh ſultan was deſirous of ſparing the blood of his ſoldiers; ſtill more deſirous of ſecuring for his own uſe the Byzantine treaſures; and he accompliſhed a ſacred duty in preſenting to the *Gabours*, the choice of circumciſion, of tribute, or of death. The avarice of Mahomet might have been ſatisfied with an annual ſum of one hundred thouſand ducats: but his ambition graſped the capital of the Eaſt: to the prince he offered a rich equivalent, to the people a free toleration, or a ſafe departure: but after ſome fruitleſs treaty, he declared his reſolution of finding either a throne, or a grave, under the walls of Conſtantinople. A ſenſe of honour, and the fear of univerſal reproach, forbade Palæologus to reſign the city into the hands of the Ottomans: and he determined to abide the laſt extremities of war. Several days were employed by the ſultan in the preparations of the aſſault; and a reſpite was granted by his favourite ſcience of aſtrology, which had fixed on the twenty-ninth of May, as the fortunate and fatal hour. On the evening of the twenty-ſeventh, he iſſued his final orders; aſſembled in his preſence the military chiefs; and diſperſed his heralds through the camp to proclaim the duty, and the motives, of the perilous enterpriſe. Fear is the firſt principle of a deſpotic government; and his menaces were expreſſed in the Oriental ſtyle, that the fugitives and deſerters, had they the wings of a bird[53], ſhould not eſcape from his inexorable juſtice. The greateſt part of his baſhaws and Janizaries were the offspring of Chriſtian parents; but the glories of the Turkiſh name were perpetuated by ſucceſſive adoption; and in the gradual change of individuals, the ſpirit of a legion, a regiment, or an *oda*, is kept alive by imitation and diſcipline. In this holy warfare, the Moſlems were exhorted to purify their minds with prayer, their bodies with ſeven ablutions; and to abſtain from food till the cloſe of the enſuing day. A crowd of derviſhes viſited the tents, to fulfil the deſire of martyrdom, and the aſſurance of ſpending an immortal youth amidſt the rivers and gardens of paradiſe, and in the embraces of the black-eyed virgins. Yet Mahomet principally truſted to the efficacy of temporal and viſible rewards. A double pay was promiſed to the victorious troops; "The city and the buildings," ſaid Mahomet, "are mine: but I reſign to your "valour the captives and the ſpoil, the treaſures "of gold and beauty: be rich and be happy. "Many are the provinces of my empire: the "intrepid ſoldier who firſt aſcends the walls of "Conſtantinople, ſhall be rewarded with the go-"vernment of the faireſt and moſt wealthy; and "my gratitude ſhall accumulate his honours and "fortunes above the meaſure of his own hopes." Such various and potent motives diffuſed among the Turks a general ardour, regardleſs of life and impatient for action: the camp re-echoed with the Moſlem ſhouts of, "God is God, there is "but one God, and Mahomet is the apoſtle of "God[54];" and the ſea and land, from Galata to the ſeven towers, were illuminated by the blaze of their nocturnal fires.

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[82] Chalcondyles and Ducas differ in the time and circumſtances of the negociation; and as it was neither glorious nor ſalutary, the faithful Phranza ſpares his prince even the thought of a ſurrender.

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[53] Theſe wings (Chalcocondyles, l. viii. p. 208.) are no more than an oriental figure: but in the tragedy of Irene, Mahomet's paſſion ſoars above ſenſe and reaſon:

> Should the fierce North, upon his frozen wings,
> Bear him aloft above the wondering clouds,
> And ſeat him in the Pleiads golden chariot—
> Thence ſhould my fury drag him down to tortures.

Beſides the extravagance of the rant, I muſt obſerve, 1. That the operation of the winds muſt be confined to the *lower* region of the air. 2. That the name, etymology, and fable of the Pleiads are purely Greek (Scholiaſt ad Homer. Σ. 686. Eudocia in Ionia, p. 339. Apollodor. l. iii. c. 10. Heine, p. 229. Not. 682.), and had no affinity with the aſtronomy of the eaſt (Hyde ad Ulugbeg, Tabul. in Syntagma Diſſert. tom. i. p. 40. 42. Goguet, Origine des Arts, &c. tom. vi. p. 73—78. Gebelin, Hiſt. du Calendrier, p. 73.), which Mahomet had ſtudied. 3. The golden chariot does not exiſt either in ſcience or fiction; but I much fear that Dr. Johnſon has confounded the Pleiads with the great bear or waggon, the zodiac with a northern conſtellation:

> Ἄρκτον θ' ἣν καὶ ἄμαξαν ἐπίκλησιν καλέουσι.

Laſt farewel of the emperor and the Greeks.

Far different was the ſtate of the Chriſtians, who, with loud and impotent complaints, deplored the guilt, or the puniſhment, of their ſins. The celeſtial image of the Virgin had been expoſed in ſolemn proceſſion: but their divine patroneſs was deaf to their intreaties; they accuſed the obſtinacy of the emperor for refuſing a timely ſurrender; anticipated the horrors of their fate; and ſighed for the repoſe and ſecurity of Turkiſh ſervitude. The nobleſt of the Greeks, and the braveſt of the allies, were ſummoned to the palace, to prepare them, on the evening of the twenty-eighth, for the duties and dangers of the general aſſault. The laſt ſpeech of Palæologus was the funeral oration of the Roman empire[55]: he promiſed, he conjured, and he vainly attempted to infuſe the hope which was extinguiſhed in his own mind. In this world all was comfortleſs and gloomy; and neither the goſpel nor the church have propoſed any conſpicuous recompence to the heroes who fall in the ſervice of their country. But the example of their prince, and the confinement of a ſiege, had armed theſe warriors with the courage of deſpair; and the pathetic ſcene is deſcribed by the feelings of the hiſtorian Phranza, who was himſelf preſent at this mournful aſſembly. They wept, they embraced; regardleſs of their families and fortunes, they devoted their lives; and each commander, departing to his ſtation, maintained all night a vigilant and anxious watch on the rampart. The emperor, and ſome faithful companions, entered the dome of St. Sophia, which in a few hours was to be converted into a moſch; and devoutly received, with tears and prayers, the ſacrament of the holy communion. He repoſed ſome moments in the palace, which reſounded with cries and lamentations; ſolicited the pardon of all whom he might have injured [56]; and mounted on horſeback to viſit the guards, and explore the motions of the enemy. The diſtreſs and fall of the laſt Conſtantine are more glorious than the long proſperity of the Byzantine Cæſars.

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[54] Phranza quarrels with theſe Moſlem acclamations, not for the name of God, but for that of the prophet: the pious zeal of Voltaire is exceſſive, and even ridiculous.

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[55] I am afraid that this diſcourſe was compoſed by Phranza himſelf: and it ſmells ſo groſsly of the ſermon and the convent, that I almoſt doubt whether it was pronounced by Conſtantine. Leonardus aſſigns him another ſpeech, in which he addreſſes himſelf more reſpectfully to the Latin auxiliaries.

The general aſſault, May 29.

In the confuſion of darkneſs an aſſailant may ſometimes ſucceed; but in this great and general attack, the military judgment and aſtrological knowledge of Mahomet adviſed him to expect the morning, the memorable twenty-ninth of May, in the fourteen hundred and fifty-third year of the Chriſtian æra. The preceding night had been ſtrenuouſly employed: the troops, the cannon, and the faſcines, were advanced to the edge of the ditch, which in many parts preſented a ſmooth and level paſſage to the breach; and his fourſcore gallies almoſt touched with the prows and their ſcaling ladders, the leſs defenſible walls of the harbour. Under pain of death, ſilence was enjoined: but the phyſical laws of motion and ſound are not obedient to diſcipline or fear; each individual might ſuppreſs his voice and meaſure his footſteps; but the march and labour of thouſands muſt inevitably produce a ſtrange confuſion of diſſonant clamours, which reached the ears of the watchmen of the towers. At day-break, without the cuſtomary ſignal of the morning gun, the Turks aſſaulted the city by ſea and land; and the ſimilitude of a twined or twiſted thread has been applied to the cloſeneſs and continuity of their line of attack [57]. The foremoſt ranks conſiſted of the refuſe of the hoſt, a voluntary crowd who fought without order or command; of the feebleneſs of age or childhood, of peaſants and vagrants, and of all who had joined the camp in the blind hope of plunder and martyrdom. The common impulſe drove them onwards to the wall: the moſt audacious to climb were inſtantly precipitated; and not a dart, not a bullet, of the Chriſtians, was idly waſted on the accumulated throng. But their ſtrength and ammunition were exhauſted in this laborious defence; the ditch was filled with the bodies of the ſlain; they ſupported the footſteps of their companions; and of this devoted vanguard, the death was more ſerviceable than the life. Under their reſpective baſhaws and ſanjaks, the troops of Anatolia and Romania were ſucceſſively led to the charge: their progreſs was various and doubtful; but, after a conflict of two hours, the Greeks ſtill maintained, and improved their advantage; and the voice of the emperor was heard, encouraging his ſoldiers to atchieve, by a laſt effort, the deliverance of their country. In that fatal moment, the Janizaries aroſe freſh, vigorous, and invincible. The ſultan himſelf on horſeback, with an iron mace in his hand, was the ſpectator and judge of their valour: he was ſurrounded by ten thouſand of his domeſtic troops, whom he reſerved for the deciſive occaſions; and the tide of battle was directed and impelled by his voice and eye. His numerous miniſters of juſtice were poſted behind the line, to urge, to reſtrain, and to puniſh; and if danger was in the front, ſhame and inevitable death were in the rear, of the fugitives. The cries of fear and of pain were drowned in the martial muſic of drums, trumpets, and attaballs; and experience has proved, that the mechanical operation of ſounds, by quickening the circulation of the blood and ſpirits, will act on the human machine more forcibly than the eloquence of reaſon and honour. From the lines, the gallies, and the bridge, the Ottoman artillery thundered on all ſides; and the camp and city, the Greeks, and the Turks, were involved in a cloud of ſmoke, which could only be diſpelled by the final deliverance or deſtruction of the Roman empire. The ſingle combats of the heroes of hiſtory or fable, amuſe our fancy and engage our affections: the ſkilful evolutions of war may inform the mind, and improve a neceſſary, though pernicious, ſcience. But in the uniform and odious pictures of a general aſſault, all is blood, and horror, and confuſion; nor ſhall I ſtrive, at the diſtance of three centuries and a thouſand miles, to delineate a ſcene, of which there could be no ſpectators, and of which the actors themſelves were incapable of forming any juſt or adequate idea.

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[56] This abaſement, which devotion has ſometimes extorted from dying princes, is an improvement of the goſpel doctrine of the forgiveneſs of injuries: it is more eaſy to forgive 490 times, than once to aſk pardon of an inferior.

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[57] Beſides the 10,000 guards, and the ſailors and the marines, Ducas numbers in this general aſſault 250,000 Turks, both horſe and foot.

The immediate loſs of Conſtantinople may be aſcribed to the bullet, or arrow, which pierced the gauntlet of John Juſtiniani. The ſight of his blood, and the exquiſite pain, appalled the courage of the chief, whoſe arms and counſels were the firmeſt rampart of the city. As he withdrew from his ſtation in queſt of a ſurgeon, his flight was perceived and ſtopped by the indefatigable emperor. "Your wound," exclaimed Palæologus, "is ſlight; the danger is preſſing; your preſence "is neceſſary; and whither will you retire?" "I will retire," ſaid the trembling Genoeſe, "by the ſame road which God has opened to the "Turks;" and at theſe words he haſtily paſſed through one of the breaches of the inner wall. By this puſillanimous act, he ſtained the honours of a military life; and the few days which he ſurvived in Galata, or the iſle of Chios, were embittered by his own and the public reproach[58]. His example was imitated by the greateſt part of the Latin auxiliaries, and the defence began to ſlacken when the attack was preſſed with redoubled vigour. The number of the Ottomans was fifty, perhaps an hundred, times ſuperior to that of the Chriſtians; the double walls were reduced by the cannon to an heap of ruins: in a circuit of ſeveral miles, ſome places muſt be found more eaſy of acceſs, or more feebly guarded; and if the beſiegers could penetrate in a ſingle point, the whole city was irrecoverably loſt. The firſt who deſerved the ſultan's reward was Haſſan the Janizary, of gigantic ſtature and ſtrength. With his ſcymetar in one hand and his buckler in the other, he aſcended the outward fortification: of the thirty Janizaries, who were emulous of his valour, eighteen periſhed in the bold adventure. Haſſan and his twelve companions had reached the ſummit; the giant was precipitated from the rampart; he roſe on one knee, and was again oppreſſed by a ſhower of darts and ſtones. But his ſucceſs had proved that the atchievement was poſſible: the walls and towers were inſtantly covered with a ſwarm of Turks; and the Greeks, now driven from the vantage ground, were overwhelmed by encreaſing multitudes. Amidſt theſe multitudes, the emperor[59], who accompliſhed all the duties of a general and a ſoldier, was long ſeen, and finally loſt. The nobles, who fought round his perſon, ſuſtained till their laſt breath the honourable names of Palæologus and Cantacuzene: his mournful exclamation was heard, "Cannot there be found a Chriſtian to cut off "my head[60]?" and his laſt fear was that of falling alive into the hands of the infidels[61]. The prudent deſpair of Conſtantine caſt away the purple: amidſt the tumult he fell by an unknown hand, and his body was buried under a mountain of the ſlain. After his death, reſiſtance and order were no more: the Greeks fled towards the city; and many were preſſed and ſtifled in the narrow paſs of the gate of St. Romanus. The victorious Turks ruſhed through the breaches of the inner wall; and as they advanced into the ſtreets, they were ſoon joined by their brethren, who had forced the gate Phenar on the ſide of the harbour[62]. In the firſt heat of the purſuit, about two thouſand Chriſtians were put to the ſword; but avarice ſoon prevailed over cruelty; and the victors acknowledged, that they ſhould immediately have given quarter if the valour of the emperor and his choſen bands had not prepared them for a ſimilar oppoſition in every part of the capital. It was thus, after a ſiege of fifty-three days, that Conſtantinople, which had defied the power of Choſroes, the Chagan, and the caliphs, was irretrievably ſubdued by the arms of Mahomet the ſecond. Her empire only had been ſubverted by the Latins: her religion was trampled in the duſt by the Moſlem conquerors[63].

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[58] In the ſevere cenſure of the flight of Juſtiniani, Phranza expreſſes his own feelings, and thoſe of the public. For ſome private reaſons, he is treated with more lenity and reſpect by Ducas; but the words of Leonardus Chienſis expreſs his ſtrong and recent indignation, gloriæ ſalutis ſuique oblitus. In the whole ſeries of their Eaſtern policy, his countrymen, the Genoeſe, were always ſuſpected, and often guilty.

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[59] Ducas kills him with two blows of Turkiſh ſoldiers; Chalcocondyles wounds him in the ſhoulder, and then tramples him in the gate. The grief of Phranza carrying him among the enemy, eſcapes from the preciſe image of his death; but we may, without flattery, apply theſe noble lines of Dryden:

As to Sebaſtian, let them ſearch the field;
And where they find a mountain of the ſlain,
Send one to climb, and looking down beneath,
There they will find him at his manly length,
With his face up to heaven, in that red monument
Which his good ſword had digged.

[60] Spondanus (A. D. 1453, N° 10.), who has hopes of his ſalvation, wiſhes to abſolve this demand from the guilt of ſuicide.

Death of the emperor Conſtantine Palæologus.

Loſs of the city and empire.

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[61] Leonardus Chienſis very properly obſerves, that the Turks, had they known the emperor, would have laboured to ſave and ſecure a captive ſo acceptable to the ſultan.

[62] Cantemir, p. 96. The Chriſtian ſhips in the mouth of the harbour, had flanked and retarded this naval attack.

[63] Chalcocondyles moſt abſurdly ſuppoſes, that Conſtantinople was ſacked by the Aſiatics in revenge for the ancient calamities of Troy; and the grammarians of the xvth century are happy to melt down the uncouth appellation of Turks, into the more claſſical name of *Teucri*.

The Turks enter and pillage Conſtantinople.

The tidings of misfortune fly with a rapid wing; yet ſuch was the extent of Conſtantinople, that the more diſtant quarters might prolong ſome moments the happy ignorance of their ruin[64]. But in the general conſternation, in the feelings of ſelfiſh or ſocial anxiety, in the tumult and thunder of the aſſault, a *ſleepleſs* night and morning muſt have elapſed; nor can I believe that many Grecian ladies were awakened by the Janizaries from a ſound and tranquil ſlumber. On the aſſurance of the public calamity, the houſes and convents were inſtantly deſerted; and the trembling inhabitants flocked together in the ſtreets, like an herd of timid animals; as if accumulated weakneſs could be productive of ſtrength, or in the vain hope, that amid the crowd, each individual might be ſafe and inviſible. From every part of the capital, they flowed into the church of St. Sophia: in the ſpace of an hour, the ſanctuary, the choir, the nave, the upper and lower galleries, were filled with the multitude of fathers and huſbands, of women and children, of prieſts, monks, and religious virgins: the doors were barred on the inſide, and they ſought protection from the ſacred dome, which they had ſo lately abhorred as a profane and polluted edifice. Their confidence was founded on the prophecy of an enthuſiaſt or impoſtor; that one day the Turks would enter Conſtantinople,

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[64] When Cyrus ſurpriſed Babylon during the celebration of a feſtival, ſo vaſt was the city, and ſo careleſs were the inhabitants, that much time elapſed before the diſtant quarters knew that they were captives (Herodotus, l. i. c. 191.), and Uſher (Annal. p. 78.), who has quoted from the prophet Jeremiah a paſſage of ſimilar import.

ſtantinople, and purſue the Romans as far as the column of Conſtantine in the ſquare before St. Sophia: but that this would be the term of their calamities: that an angel would deſcend from heaven, with a ſword in his hand, and would deliver the empire, with that celeſtial weapon, to a poor man ſeated at the foot of the column. "Take this ſword," would he ſay, "and avenge "the people of the Lord." At theſe animating words, the Turks would inſtantly fly, and the victorious Romans would drive them from the Weſt, and from all Anatolia, as far as the frontiers of Perſia. It is on this occaſion, that Ducas, with ſome fancy and much truth, upbraids the diſcord and obſtinacy of the Greeks. "Had that "angel appeared," exclaims the hiſtorian, "had "he offered to exterminate your foes if you "would conſent to the union of the church, "even then, in that fatal moment, you would "have rejected your ſafety or have deceived your "God[65]."

Capacity of the Greeks.

While they expected the deſcent of the tardy angel, the doors were broken with axes; and as the Turks encountered no reſiſtance, their bloodleſs hands were employed in ſelecting and ſecuring the multitude of their priſoners. Youth, beauty, and the appearance of wealth, attracted their choice; and the right of property was decided among themſelves by a prior ſeizure, by perſonal ſtrength, and by the authority of command. In the ſpace of an hour, the male captives were bound with cords, the females with their veils and girdles. The ſenators were linked with their ſlaves; the prelates, with the porters, of the church; and young men of a plebeian claſs, with noble maids, whoſe faces had been inviſible to the ſun and their neareſt kindred. In this common captivity, the ranks of ſociety were confounded; the ties of nature were cut aſunder; and the inexorable ſoldier was careleſs of the father's groans, the tears of the mother, and the lamentations of the children. The loudeſt in their wailings were the nuns, who were torn from the altar with naked boſoms, outſtretched hands, and diſhevelled hair: and we ſhould piouſly believe that few could be tempted to prefer the vigils of the haram to thoſe of the monaſtery. Of theſe unfortunate Greeks, of theſe domeſtic animals, whole ſtrings were rudely driven through the ſtreets; and as the conquerors were eager to return for more prey, their trembling pace was quickened with menaces and blows. At the ſame hour, a ſimilar rapine was exerciſed in all the churches and monaſteries, in all the palaces and habitations of the capital; nor could any palace, however ſacred or ſequeſtered, protect the perſons or the property of the Greeks. Above ſixty thouſand of this devoted people were tranſported from the city to the camp and fleet; exchanged or ſold according to the caprice or intereſt of their maſters, and diſperſed in remote ſervitude through the provinces of the Ottoman empire. Among theſe we may notice ſome remarkable characters. The hiſtorian Phranza, firſt chamberlain and principal ſecretary, was involved with his family in the common lot. After ſuffering four months the hardſhips of ſlavery, he recovered his freedom; in the enſuing winter he ventured to Adrianople, and ranſomed his wife from the *mir baſhi* or maſter of horſe; but his two children, in the flower of youth and beauty, had been ſeized for the uſe of Mahomet himſelf. The daughter of Phranza died in the ſeraglio, perhaps a virgin: his ſon, in the fifteenth year of his age, preferred death to infamy, and was ſtabbed by the hand of the royal lover[66]. A deed thus inhuman, cannot ſurely be expiated by the taſte and liberality with which he releaſed a Grecian matron, and her two daughters, on receiving a Latin ode from Philelphus, who had choſen a wife in that noble family[67]. The pride or cruelty of Mahomet would have been moſt ſenſibly gratified by the capture of a Roman legate; but the dexterity of cardinal Iſidore eluded the ſearch, and he eſcaped from Galata in a plebeian habit[68].

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[65] This lively deſcription is extracted from Ducas (c. 39.), who two years afterwards was ſent ambaſſador from the prince of Leſbos to the ſultan (c. 44.). Till Leſbos was ſubdued in 1463 (Phranza l. iii. c. 27.), that iſland muſt have been full of the fugitives of Conſtantinople, who delighted to repeat, perhaps to adorn, the tale of their miſery.

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[66] See Phranza, l. iii. c. 20, 21. His expreſſions are poſitive: Ameras ſuâ manû jugulavit . . . . . volebat enim eo turpiter et nefarie abuti. Me miſerum et infelicem. Yet he could only learn from report, the bloody or impure ſcenes that were acted in the dark receſſes of the ſeraglio.

[67] See Tiraboſchi (tom. vi. p. i. p. 290.) and Lancelot (Mem. de l'Academie des Inſcriptions, tom. x. p. 718.). I ſhould be curious to learn how he could praiſe the public enemy, whom he ſo often reviles as the moſt corrupt and inhuman of tyrants.

[68] The Commentaries of Pius II. ſuppoſe, that he craftily placed his cardinal's hat on the head of a corpſe which was cut off and expoſed in triumph, while the legate himſelf was bought and

The chain and entrance of the outward harbour was ſtill occupied by the Italian ſhips of merchandiſe and war. They had ſignalized their valour in the ſiege; they embraced the moment of retreat, while the Turkiſh mariners were diſſipated in the pillage of the city. When they hoiſted ſail, the beach was covered with a ſuppliant and lamentable croud: but the means of tranſportation were ſcanty: the Venetians and Genoeſe ſelected their countrymen; and notwithſtanding the faireſt promiſes of the ſultan, the inhabitants of Galata evacuated their houſes, and embarked with their moſt precious effects.

Amount of the ſpoil.

In the fall and the ſack of great cities, an hiſtorian is condemned to repeat the tale of uniform calamity: the ſame effects muſt be produced by the ſame paſſions; and when thoſe paſſions may be indulged without controul, ſmall, alas! is the difference between civilized and ſavage man. Amidſt the vague exclamations of bigotry and hatred, the Turks are not accuſed of a wanton or immoderate effuſion of Chriſtian blood: but according to their maxims (the maxims of antiquity), the lives of the vanquiſhed were forfeited; and the legitimate reward of the conqueror was derived from the ſervice, the ſale, or the ranſom, of his captives of both ſexes[69]. The

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and delivered, as a captive of no value. The great Belgic Chronicle adorns his eſcape with new adventures, which he ſuppreſſed (ſays Spondanus, A. D. 1453, N° 15.) in his own letters, leſt he ſhould loſe the merit and reward of ſuffering for Chriſt.

[69] Buſbequius expatiates with pleaſure and applauſe on the rights of war, and the uſe of ſlavery, among the ancients and the Turks (de Legat. Turcicâ, epiſt. iii. p. 161.).

wealth of Conſtantinople had been granted by the ſultan to his victorious troops: and the rapine of an hour is more productive than the induſtry of years. But as no regular diviſion was attempted of the ſpoil, the reſpective ſhares were not determined by merit; and the rewards of valour were ſtolen away by the followers of the camp, who had declined the toil and danger of the battle. The narrative of their depredations could not afford either amuſement or inſtruction: the total amount, in the laſt poverty of the empire, has been valued at four millions of ducats [70]; and of this ſum a ſmall part was the property of the Venetians, the Genoeſe, the Florentines, and the merchants of Ancona. Of theſe foreigners, the ſtock was improved in quick and perpetual circulation: but the riches of the Greeks were diſplayed in the idle oſtentation of palaces and wardrobes, or deeply buried in treaſures of ingots and old coin, leſt it ſhould be demanded at their hands for the defence of their country. The profanation and plunder of the monaſteries and churches, excited the moſt tragic complaints. The dome of St. Sophia itſelf, the earthly heaven, the ſecond firmament, the vehicle of the cherubim, the throne of the glory of God [71], was deſpoiled of the oblations of ages; and the gold and ſilver, the pearls and jewels, the vaſes and ſacerdotal ornaments, were moſt wickedly converted to the ſervice of mankind. After the divine images had been ſtripped of all that could be valuable to a profane eye, the canvaſs, or the wood, was torn, or broken, or burnt, or trod under foot, or applied, in the ſtables, or the kitchen, to the vileſt uſes. The example of ſacrilege was imitated however from the Latin conquerors of Conſtantinople; and the treatment which Chriſt, the Virgin, and the ſaints, had ſuſtained from the guilty Catholic, might be inflicted by the zealous Muſulman on the monuments of idolatry. Perhaps, inſtead of joining the public clamour, a philoſopher will obſerve, that in the decline of the arts, the workmanſhip could not be more valuable than the work, and that a freſh ſupply of viſions and miracles would ſpeedily be renewed by the craft of the prieſt and the credulity of the people. He will more ſeriouſly deplore the loſs of the Byzantine libraries, which were deſtroyed or ſcattered in the general confuſion: one hundred and twenty thouſand manuſcripts are ſaid to have diſappeared [72]; ten volumes might be purchaſed for a ſingle ducat; and the ſame ignominious price, too high perhaps for a ſhelf of theology, included the whole works of Ariſtotle and Homer, the nobleſt productions of the ſcience and literature of ancient Greece. We may reflect with pleaſure, that an ineſtimable portion of our claſſic treaſures was ſafely depoſited in Italy; and that the mechanics of a German town had invented an art which derides the havoc of time and barbariſm.

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[70] This ſum is ſpecified in a marginal note of Leunclavius (Chalcocondyles, l. viii. p. 211.), but in the diſtribution to Venice, Genoa, Florence, and Ancona, of 50, 20, 20, and 15,000 ducats, I ſuſpect that a figure has been dropt. Even with the reſtitution, the foreign property would ſcarcely exceed one fourth.

[71] See the enthuſiaſtic praiſes and lamentations of Phranza (l. iii. c. 17.).

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[72] See Ducas (c. 43.), and an epiſtle, July 15th, 1453, from Laurus Quirinus to pope Nicholas V. (Hody de Græcis, p. 192. from a MS. in the Cotton library).

Mahomet II. viſits the city, St. Sophia, the palace, &c.

From the firſt hour[73] of the memorable twenty-ninth of May, diſorder and rapine prevailed in Conſtantinople, till the eighth hour of the ſame day; when the ſultan himſelf paſſed in triumph through the gate of St. Romanus. He was attended by his vizirs, baſhaws, and guards, each of whom (ſays a Byzantine hiſtorian) was robuſt as Hercules, dextrous as Apollo, and equal in battle to any ten of the race of ordinary mortals. The conqueror[74] gazed with ſatisfaction and wonder on the ſtrange though ſplendid appearance of the domes and palaces, ſo diſſimilar from the ſtyle of Oriental architecture. In the hippodrome, or *atmeidan*, his eye was attracted by the twiſted column of the three ſerpents; and, as a trial of his ſtrength, he ſhattered with his iron mace or battle-ax the under-jaw of one of theſe monſters[75], which in the eye of the Turks were the idols or taliſmans of the city. At the principal door of St. Sophia, he alighted from his horſe, and entered the dome: and ſuch was his jealous regard for that monument of his glory, that on obſerving a zealous Muſulman in the act of breaking the marble pavement, he admoniſhed him with his ſcymetar, that if the ſpoil and captives were granted to the ſoldiers, the public and private buildings had been reſerved for the prince. By his command the metropolis of the Eaſtern church was transformed into a moſch: the rich and portable inſtruments of ſuperſtition had been removed; the croſſes were thrown down; and the walls, which were covered with images, and moſaics, were waſhed and purified, and reſtored to a ſtate of naked ſimplicity. On the ſame day, or on the enſuing Friday, the *muezin* or crier, aſcended the moſt lofty turret, and proclaimed the *ezan*, or public invitation in the name of God and his prophet; the imam preached; and Mahomet the ſecond performed the *namaz* of prayer and thankſgiving on the great altar, where the Chriſtian myſteries had ſo lately been celebrated before the laſt of the Cæſars [76]. From St. Sophia he proceeded to the auguſt, but deſolate manſion of an hundred ſucceſſors of the great Conſtantine; but which in a few hours had been ſtripped of the pomp of royalty. A melancholy reflection on the viciſſitudes of human greatneſs, forced itſelf on his mind; and he repeated an elegant diſtich of Perſian poetry: "The ſpider has "wove his web in the imperial palace; and the

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[73] The Julian Calendar, which reckons the days and hours from midnight, was uſed at Conſtantinople. But Ducas ſeems to underſtand the natural hours from ſun-riſe.

[74] See the Turkiſh Annals, p. 329. and the Pandects of Leunclavius, p. 448.

[75] I have had occaſion (vol. iii. p. 22.) to mention this curious relic of Græcian antiquity.

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[76] We are obliged to Cantemir (p. 102.) for the Turkiſh account of the converſion of St. Sophia, ſo bitterly deplored by Phranza and Ducas. It is amuſing enough to obſerve, in what oppoſite lights the ſame object appears to a Muſulman and a Chriſtian eye.

"owl hath ſung her watch-ſong on the towers of "Afraſiab [77]."

His behaviour to the Greeks.

Yet his mind was not ſatisfied, nor did the victory ſeem complete, till he was informed of the fate of Conſtantine; whether he had eſcaped or been made priſoner, or had fallen in the battle. Two Janizaries claimed the honour and reward of his death: the body, under an heap of ſlain, was diſcovered by the golden eagles embroidered on his ſhoes: The Greeks acknowledged with tears the head of their late emperor; and, after expoſing the bloody trophy [78], Mahomet beſtowed on his rival the honours of a decent funeral. After his deceaſe, Lucas Notaras, great duke [79], and firſt miniſter of the empire, was the moſt important priſoner. When he offered his perſon and his treaſures at the foot of the throne, "And "why," ſaid the indignant ſultan, "did you not "employ theſe treaſures in the defence of your "prince and country?" "They were yours," anſwered the ſlave, "God had reſerved them for "your hands." "If he reſerved them for me," replied the deſpot, "how have you preſumed to "with-hold them ſo long by a fruitleſs and fatal "reſiſtance?" The great duke alleged the obſtinacy of the ſtrangers, and ſome ſecret encouragement from the Turkiſh vizir; and from this perilous interview, he was at length diſmiſſed with the aſſurance of pardon and protection. Mahomet condeſcended to viſit his wife, a venerable princeſs oppreſſed with ſickneſs and grief; and his conſolation for her misfortunes was in the moſt tender ſtrain of humanity and filial reverence. A ſimilar clemency was extended to the principal officers of ſtate, of whom ſeveral were ranſomed at his expence; and during ſome days he declared himſelf the friend and father of the vanquiſhed people. But the ſcene was ſoon changed; and before his departure, the hippodrome ſtreamed with the blood of his nobleſt captives. His perfidious cruelty is execrated by the Chriſtians: they adorn with the colours of heroic martyrdom the execution of the great duke and his two ſons; and his death is aſcribed to the generous refuſal of delivering his children to the tyrant's luſt. Yet a Byzantine hiſtorian has dropt an unguarded word of conſpiracy, deliverance, and Italian ſuccour: ſuch treaſon may be glorious; but the rebel who bravely ventures, has juſtly forfeited, his life; nor ſhould we blame a conqueror for deſtroying the enemies whom he can no longer truſt. On the eighteenth of June, the victorious ſultan returned to Adrianople; and ſmiled at the baſe and hollow embaſſies of the Chriſtian princes, who viewed their approaching ruin in the fall of the Eaſtern empire.

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[77] This diſtich, which Cantemir gives in the original, derives new beauties from the application. It was thus that Scipio repeated, in the ſack of Carthage, the famous prophecy of Homer. The ſame generous feeling carried the mind of the conqueror to the paſt or the future.

[78] I cannot believe with Ducas (ſee Spondanus, A. D. 1453, No 13.), that Mahomet ſent round Perſia, Arabia, &c. the head of the Greek emperor: he would ſurely content himſelf with a trophy leſs inhuman.

[79] Phranza was the perſonal enemy of the great duke; nor could time, or death, or his own retreat into a monaſtery, extort a feeling of ſympathy or forgiveneſs. Ducas is inclined to praiſe and pity the martyr; Chalcocondyles is neutral, but we are indebted to him for the hint of the Greek conſpiracy.

He repeoples and adorns Conſtantinople.

Conſtantinople had been left naked and deſolate, without a prince or a people. But ſhe could not be deſpoiled of the incomparable ſituation which marks her for the metropolis of a great empire; and the genius of the place will ever triumph over the accidents of time and fortune. Bourſa and Adrianople, the ancient ſeats of the Ottomans, ſunk into provincial towns; and Mahomet the ſecond eſtabliſhed his own reſidence, and that of his ſucceſſors, on the ſame commanding ſpot which had been choſen by Conſtantine[80]. The fortifications of Galata, which might afford a ſhelter to the Latins, were prudently deſtroyed; but the damage of the Turkiſh cannon was ſoon repaired; and before the month of Auguſt, great quantities of lime had been burnt for the reſtoration of the walls of the capital. As the entire property of the ſoil and buildings, whether public or private, or profane or ſacred, was now transferred to the conqueror, he firſt ſeparated a ſpace of eight furlongs from the point of the triangle for the eſtabliſhment of his ſeraglio or palace. It is here, in the boſom of luxury, that the *grand ſignor* (as he has been emphatically named by the Italians) appears to reign over Europe and Aſia: but his perſon on the ſhores of the Boſphorus may not always be ſecure from the inſults of an hoſtile navy. In the new character of a moſch, the cathedral of St. Sophia was endowed with an ample revenue, crowned with lofty minarets, and ſurrounded with groves and fountains, for the devotion and refreſhment of the Moſlems. The ſame model was imitated in the *jami* or royal moſchs; and the firſt of theſe was built, by Mahomet himſelf, on the ruins of the church of the holy apoſtles and the tombs of the Greek emperors. On the third day after the conqueſt, the grave of Abou Ayub or Job, who had fallen in the firſt ſiege of the Arabs, was revealed in a viſion; and it is before the ſepulchre of the martyr, that the new ſultans are girded with the ſword of empire[81]. Conſtantinople no longer appertains to the Roman hiſtorian; nor ſhall I enumerate the civil and religious edifices that were profaned or erected by its Turkiſh maſters: the population was ſpeedily renewed; and before the end of September, five thouſand families of Anatolia and Romania had obeyed the royal mandate, which enjoined them, under pain of death, to occupy their new habitations in the capital. The throne of Mahomet was guarded by the numbers and fidelity of his Moſlem ſubjects: but his rational policy aſpired to collect the remnant of the Greeks; and they returned in crowds as ſoon as they were aſſured of their lives, their liberties, and the free exerciſe of their religion. In the election and inveſtiture of a patriarch, the ceremonial of the Byzantine court was revived and imitated. With a mixture of ſatiſfaction and horror, they beheld the ſultan on his throne; who delivered into the hands of Gennadius the croſier or paſtoral ſtaff, the ſymbol of his eccleſiaſtical office; who conducted the patriarch to the gate of the ſeraglio, preſented him with an horſe richly capariſoned, and directed the vizirs and baſhaws to lead him to the palace which had been allotted for his reſidence[82]. The churches of Conſtantinople were ſhared between the two religions: their limits were marked; and, till it was infringed by Selim, the grandſon of Mahomet, the Greeks[83] enjoyed above ſixty years the benefit of this equal partition. Encouraged by the miniſters of the divan, who wiſhed to elude the fanaticiſm of the ſultan, the Chriſtian advocates preſumed to allege that this diviſion had been an act, not of generoſity, but of juſtice;

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[80] For the reſtitution of Conſtantinople and the Turkiſh foundations, ſee Cantemir (p. 102—109.), Ducas (c. 42.), with Thevenot, Tournefort, and the reſt of our modern travellers. From a gigantic picture of the greatneſs, population, &c. of Conſtantinople and the Ottoman empire (Abrégé de l'Hiſtoire Ottomane, tom. i. p. 16—21.), we may learn, that in the year 1586, the Moſlems were leſs numerous in the capital than the Chriſtians, or even the Jews.

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[81] The *Turbé*, or ſepulchral monument of Abu Ayub, is deſcribed and engraved in the Tableau Général de l'Empire Ottoman (Paris, 1787, in large folio), a work of leſs uſe, perhaps, than magnificence (tom. i. p. 305, 306).

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[82] Phranza (l. iii. c. 19.) relates the ceremony, which has poſſibly been adorned in the Greek reports to each other, and to the Latins. The fact is confirmed by Emanuel Malaxus, who wrote, in vulgar Greek, the hiſtory of the Patriarchs after the taking of Conſtantinople, inſerted in the Turco-Græcia of Cruſius (l. v. p. 106—184). But the moſt patient reader will not believe that Mahomet adopted the Catholic form, "Sancta Trinitas quæ mihi "donavit imperium te in patriarcham novæ Romæ eligit."

[83] From the Turco-Græcia of Cruſius, &c. Spondanus (A. D. 1453, N° 21. 1458, N° 16.) deſcribes the ſlavery and the domeſtic quarrels of the Greek church. The patriarch who ſucceeded Gennadius, threw himſelf in deſpair into a well.

not a conceſſion, but a compact; and that if one half of the city had been taken by ſtorm, the other moiety had ſurrendered on the faith of a ſacred capitulation. The original grant had indeed been conſumed by fire: but the loſs was ſupplied by the teſtimony of three aged Janizaries who remembered the tranſaction; and their venal oaths are of more weight in the opinion of Cantemir, than the poſitive and unanimous conſent of the hiſtory of the times [84].

Extinction of the Imperial families of Comnenus and Palæologus.

The remaining fragments of the Greek kingdom in Europe and Aſia I ſhall abandon to the Turkiſh arms; but the final extinction of the two laſt dynaſties [85] which have reigned in Conſtantinople, ſhould terminate the decline and fall of the Roman Empire in the Eaſt. The deſpots of the Morea, Demetrius and Thomas [86], the two ſurviving brothers of the name of PALÆOLOGUS, were aſtoniſhed by the death of the emperor Conſtantine, and the ruin of the monarchy. Hopeleſs of defence, they prepared, with the noble Greeks who adhered to their fortune, to ſeek a refuge in Italy, beyond the reach of the Ottoman thunder. Their firſt apprehenſions were diſpelled by the victorious ſultan, who contented himſelf with a tribute of twelve thouſand ducats; and while his ambition explored the continent and the iſlands in ſearch of prey, he indulged the Morea in a reſpite of ſeven years. But this reſpite was a period of grief, diſcord, and miſery. The *hexamilion*, the rampart of the Iſthmus, ſo often raiſed and ſo often ſubverted, could not long be defended by three hundred Italian archers; the keys of Corinth were ſeized by the Turks: they returned from their ſummer excurſions with a train of captives and ſpoil; and the complaints of the injured Greeks were heard with indifference and diſdain. The Albanians, a vagrant tribe of ſhepherds and robbers, filled the peninſula with rapine and murder; the two deſpots implored the dangerous and humiliating aid of a neighbouring baſhaw; and when he had quelled the revolt, his leſſons inculcated the rule of their future conduct. Neither the ties of blood, nor the oaths which they repeatedly pledged in the communion and before the altar, nor the ſtronger preſſure of neceſſity, could reconcile or ſuſpend their domeſtic quarrels. They ravaged each other's patrimony with fire and ſword: the alms and ſuccours of the Weſt were conſumed in civil hoſtility; and their power was only exerted in ſavage and arbitrary execu-

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[84] Cantemir (p. 101—105.) inſiſts on the unanimous conſent of the Turkiſh hiſtorians, ancient as well as modern, and argues, that they would not have violated the truth to diminiſh their national glory, ſince it is eſteemed more honourable to take a city by force than by compoſition. But, 1. I doubt this conſent, ſince he quotes no particular hiſtorian, and the Turkiſh Annals of Leunclavius affirm, without exception, that Mahomet took Conſtantinople *per vim* (p. 329.). 2. The ſame argument may be turned in favour of the Greeks of the times, who would not have forgotten this honourable and ſalutary treaty. Voltaire, as uſual, prefers the Turks to the Chriſtians.

[85] For the genealogy and fall of the Comneni of Trebizond, ſee Ducange (Fam. Byzant. p. 195.); for the laſt Palæologi, the ſame accurate antiquarian (p. 244. 247. 248.). The Palæologi of Montferrat were not extinct till the next century; but they had forgotten their Greek origin and kindred.

[86] In the worthleſs ſtory of the diſputes and misfortunes of the two brothers, Phranza (l. iv. c. 21—30.) is too partial on the ſide of Thomas; Ducas (c. 44, 45.) is too brief, and Chalcocondyles (l. viii, ix, x.) too diffuſe and digreſſive.

tions.

Loss of the Morea, A. D. 1460;

tions. The diſtreſs and revenge of the weaker rival invoked their ſupreme lord; and, in the ſeaſon of maturity and revenge, Mahomet declared himſelf the friend of Demetrius, and marched into the Morea with an irreſiſtible force. When he had taken poſſeſſion of Sparta, "You are too "weak," ſaid the ſultan, "to controul this tur-"bulent province: I will take your daughter to "my bed; and you ſhall paſs the remainder of "your life in ſecurity and honour." Demetrius ſighed and obeyed; ſurrendered his daughter and his caſtles; followed to Adrianople his ſovereign and ſon; and received for his own maintenance, and that of his followers, a city in Thrace, and the adjacent iſles of Imbros, Lemnos, and Samothrace. He was joined the next year by a companion of misfortune, the laſt of the COMNENIAN race, who, after the taking of Conſtantinople by the Latins, had founded a new empire on the coaſt of the Black Sea[87]. In the progreſs of his Anatolian conqueſts, Mahomet inveſted with a fleet and army the capital of David, who pretended to ſtyle himſelf emperor of Trebizond[88]; and the negociation was compriſed in a ſhort and peremptory queſtion, "Will you ſecure your life

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[87] See the loſs or conqueſt of Trebizond in Chalcondyles (l. ix. p. 263—266.), Ducas (c. 45.), Phranza (l. iii. c. 27.), and Cantemir (p. 107.).

[88] Though Tournefort (tom. iii. lettre xvii. p. 179.) ſpeaks of Trebizond as mal peuplée, Peyſſonel, the lateſt and moſt accurate obſerver, can find 100,000 inhabitants (Commerce de la Mer Noire, tom. ii. p. 72, and for the province, p. 53—90.). Its proſperity and trade are perpetually diſturbed by the factious quarrels of two odas of Janizaries, in one of which 30,000 Lazi are commonly enrolled (Memoires de Tott, tom. iii. p. 16, 17.).

“ and treaſures by reſigning your kingdom? or “ had you rather forfeit your kingdom, your “ treaſures, and your life?” The feeble Comnenus was ſubdued by his own fears, and the example of a Muſulman neighbour, the Prince of Sinope[89], who, on a ſimilar ſummons, had yielded a fortified city with four hundred cannon and ten or twelve thouſand ſoldiers. The capitulation of Trebizond was faithfully performed; and the emperor, with his family, was tranſported to a caſtle in Romania; but on a ſlight ſuſpicion of correſponding with the Perſian king, David, and the whole Comnenian race, were ſacrificed to the jealouſy or avarice of the conqueror. Nor could the name of father long protect the unfortunate Demetrius from exile and confiſcation; his abject ſubmiſſion moved the pity and contempt of the ſultan; his followers were tranſplanted to Conſtantinople; and his poverty was alleviated by a penſion of fifty thouſand aſpers, till a monaſtic habit and a tardy death releaſed Palæologus from an earthly maſter. It is not eaſy to pronounce whether the ſervitude of Demetrius, or the exile of his brother Thomas[90], be the moſt inglorious. On the conqueſt of the

of Trebizond, A. D. 1461.

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[89] Iſmael Beg, prince of Sinope or Sinople, was poſſeſſed (chiefly from his copper mines) of a revenue of 200,000 ducats (Chalcocond. l. ix. p. 258, 259.). Peyſſonel (Commerce de la Mer Noire, tom. ii. p. 100.) aſcribes to the modern city 60,000 inhabitants. This account ſeems enormous: yet it is by trading with a people that we become acquainted with their wealth and numbers.

[90] Spondanus (from Gobelin Comment. Pii II. l. v.) relates the arrival and reception of the deſpot Thomas at Rome (A. D. 1461, N° 3.).

Morea, the deſpot eſcaped to Corfu, and from thence to Italy, with ſome naked adherents: his name his ſufferings, and the head of the apoſtle St. Andrew, entitled him to the hoſpitality of the Vatican; and his miſery was prolonged by a penſion of ſix thouſand ducats from the pope and cardinals. His two ſons, Andrew and Manuel, were educated in Italy; but the eldeſt, contemptible to his enemies and burthenſome to his friends, was degraded by the baſeneſs of his life and marriage. A title was his ſole inheritance; and that inheritance he ſucceſſively ſold to the kings of France and Arragon[91]. During this tranſient proſperity, Charles the eight was ambitious of joining the empire of the Eaſt with the kingdom of Naples: in a public feſtival, he aſſumed the appellation and the purple of *Auguſtus*: the Greeks rejoiced, and the Ottoman already trembled at the approach of the French chivalry[92]. Manuel Palæologus, the ſecond ſon, was tempted to reviſit his native country: his return might be grateful, and could not be dangerous, to the Porte: he was maintained at

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[91] By an act dated A. D. 1494, Sept. 6. and lately tranſmitted from the archives of the Capitol to the royal library of Paris, the deſpot Andrew Palæologus, reſerving the Morea, and ſtipulating ſome private advantages, conveys to Charles VIII. king of France the empires of Conſtantinople and Trebizond (Spondanus, A. D. 1495, N° 2.). M. de Foncemagne (Mem. de l'Academie des Inſcriptions, tom. xvii. p. 539—578.) has beſtowed a diſſertation on this national title, of which he had obtained a copy from Rome.

[92] See Philippe de Comines (l. vii. c. 14), who reckons with pleaſure the number of Greeks who were prepared to riſe, 60 miles of an eaſy navigation, eighteen days journey from Valona to Conſtantinople, &c. On this occaſion the Turkiſh empire was ſaved by the policy of Venice.

Conſtantinople in ſafety and eaſe; and an honourable train of Chriſtians and Moſlems attended him to the grave. If there be ſome animals of ſo generous a nature that they refuſe to propagate in a domeſtic ſtate, the laſt of the Imperial race muſt be aſcribed to an inferior kind: he accepted from the ſultan's liberality two beautiful females; and his ſurviving ſon was loſt in the habit and religion of a Turkiſh ſlave.

Grief and terror of Europe, A. D. 1453.

The importance of Conſtantinople was felt and magnified in its loſs: the pontificate of Nicholas the fifth, however peaceful and proſperous, was diſhonoured by the fall of the Eaſtern empire; and the grief and terror of the Latins revived, or ſeemed to revive, the old enthuſiaſm of the cruſades. In one of the moſt diſtant countries of the Weſt, Philip duke of Burgundy entertained, at Liſle in Flanders, an Aſſembly of his nobles; and the pompous pageants of the feaſt were ſkilfully adapted to their fancy and feelings[93]. In the midſt of the banquet, a gigantic Saracen entered the hall, leading a fictitious elephant, with a caſtle on his back: a matron in a mourning robe, the ſymbol of religion, was ſeen to iſſue from the caſtle; ſhe deplored her oppreſſion, and accuſed the ſlowneſs of her champions: the principal herald of the golden fleece advanced, bear-ing on his fiſt a live pheaſant, which, according to the rites of chivalry, he preſented to the duke. At this extraordinary ſummons, Philip, a wiſe and aged prince, engaged his perſon and powers in the holy war againſt the Turks: his example was imitated by the barons and knights of the aſſembly; they ſwore to God, the Virgin, the ladies and the *pheaſant*; and their particular vows were not leſs extravagant than the general ſanction of their oath. But the performance was made to depend on ſome future and foreign contingency; and, during twelve years, till the laſt hour of his life, the duke of Burgundy might be ſcrupulouſly, and perhaps ſincerely, on the eve of his departure. Had every breaſt glowed with the ſame ardour; had the union of the Chriſtians correſponded with their bravery; had every country, from Sweden[94] to Naples, ſupplied a juſt proportion of cavalry and infantry, of men and money, it is indeed probable that Conſtantinople would have been delivered, and that the Turks might have been chaſed beyond the Helleſpont or the Euphrates. But the ſecretary of the emperor, who compoſed every epiſtle, and attended every meeting, Æneas Sylvius[95], a ſtateſman and orator, deſcribes from his own experience the repugnant ſtate and ſpirit of Chriſtendom. "It is a "body," ſays he, "without an head; a republic "without laws or magiſtrates. The pope and the "emperor may ſhine as lofty titles, as ſplendid "images; but *they* are unable to command, and "none are willing to obey: every ſtate has a ſeparate "prince, and every prince has a ſeparate "intereſt. What eloquence could unite ſo many "diſcordant and hoſtile powers under the ſame "ſtandard? Could they be aſſembled in arms, "who would dare to aſſume the office of general? "What order could be maintained?— "what military diſcipline? Who would undertake "to feed ſuch an enormous multitude? "Who would underſtand their various languages, "or direct their ſtranger and incompatible manners? "What mortal could reconcile the Engliſh "with the French, Genoa with Arragon, "the Germans with the natives of Hungary and "Bohemia? If a ſmall number enliſted in the "holy war, they muſt be overthrown by the infidels; "if many, by their own weight and confuſion." Yet the ſame Æneas, when he was raiſed to the papal throne, under the name of Pius the ſecond, devoted his life to the proſecution of the Turkiſh war. In the council of Mantua he excited ſome ſparks of a falſe or feeble enthuſiaſm; but when the pontiff appeared at Ancona to embark in perſon with the troops, engagements vaniſhed in excuſes; a preciſe day was adjourned to an indefinite term: and his effective army conſiſted of ſome German pilgrims, whom he was obliged to diſband with indulgences and alms. Regardleſs of futurity, his ſucceſſors and the powers of Italy were involved in the ſchemes of preſent and domeſtic ambition; and the diſtance or proximity of each object determined, in their eyes, its apparent magnitude. A more enlarged view of their intereſt would have taught them to maintain a defenſive and naval war againſt the common enemy; and the ſupport of Scanderbeg and his brave Albanians, might have prevented the ſubſequent invaſion of the kingdom of Naples. The ſiege and ſack of Otranto by the Turks diffuſed a general conſternation; and pope Sixtus was preparing to fly beyond the Alps, when the ſtorm was inſtantly diſpelled by the death of Mahomet the ſecond, in the fifty-firſt year of his age[96]. His lofty genius aſpired to the conqueſt of Italy: he was poſſeſſed of a ſtrong city and a capacious harbour; and the ſame reign might have been decorated

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[93] See the original feaſt in Olvier de la Marche (Memoires, P. i. c. 29, 30.), with the abſtract and obſervations of M. de S^te^ Palaye (Memoires ſur la Chevalerie, tom. i. P. iii. p. 182—185.). The peacock and the pheaſant were diſtinguiſhed as royal birds.

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[94] It was found by an actual enumeration, that Sweden, Gothland, and Finland, contained 1,800,000 fighting men, and conſequently were far more populous than at preſent.

[95] In the year 1454, Spondanus has given, from Æneas Sylvius, a view of the ſtate of Europe, enriched with his own obſervations. That valuable annaliſt, and the Italian Muratori, will continue the ſeries of events from the year 1453 to 1481, the end of Mahomet's life, and of this chapter.

Death of Mahomet II. A. D. 1481, May 3, or July 2.

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[96] Beſides the two annaliſts, the reader may conſult Giannone (Iſtoria Civile, tom. iii. p. 449–455.) for the Turkiſh invaſion of the kingdom of Naples. For the reign and conqueſts of Mahomet II. I have occaſionally uſed the Memorie Iſtoriche de Monarchi Ottomanni di Giovanni Sagredo (Venezia, 1677, in 4to). In peace and war, the Turks have ever engaged the attention of the republic of Venice. All her diſpatches and archives were open to a procurator of St. Mark, and Sagredo is not contemptible either in ſenſe or ſtyle. Yet he too bitterly hates the infidels; he is ignorant of their language and manners; and his narrative, which allows only ſeventy pages to Mahomet II. (p. 69–140.), becomes more copious and authentic as he approaches the years 1640 and 1644, the term of the hiſtoric labours of John Sagredo.

with the trophies of the NEW and the ANCIENT ROME [97].

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[97] As I am now taking an everlaſting farewell of the Greek empire, I ſhall briefly mention the great collection of Byzantine writers, whoſe names and teſtimonies have been ſucceſſively repeated in this work. The Greek preſſes of Aldus and the Italians, were confined to the claſſics of a better age; and the firſt rude editions of Procopius, Agathias, Cedrenus, Zonaras, &c. were publiſhed by the learned diligence of the Germans. The whole Byzantine ſeries (xxxvi volumes in folio) has gradually iſſued (A. D. 1648, &c.) from the royal preſs of the Louvre, with ſome collateral aid from Rome and Leipſic; but the Venetian edition (A. D. 1729), though cheaper and more copious, is not leſs inferior in correctneſs than in magnificence to that of Paris. The merits of the French editors are various; but the value of Anna Comnena, Cinnamus, Villehardouin, &c. is enhanced by the hiſtorical notes of Charles du Freſne du Cange. His ſupplemental works, the Greek Gloſſary, the Conſtantinopolis Chriſtiana, the Familiæ Byzantinæ, diffuſe a ſteady light over the darkneſs of the Lower Empire.

CHAP. LXIX.

State of Rome from the Twelfth Century.—Temporal Dominion of the Popes.—Seditions of the City.—Political Heresy of Arnold of Brescia.—Restoration of the Republic.—The Senators.—Pride of the Romans.—Their Wars.—They are deprived of the Election and Presence of the Popes, who retire to Avignon.—The Jubilee.—Noble Families of Rome.—Feud of the Colonna and Urſini.

CHAP. LXIX.

State and revolutions of Rome, A. D. 1100—1500.

IN the firſt ages of the decline and fall of the Roman empire, our eye is invariably fixed on the royal city, which had given laws to the faireſt portion of the globe. We contemplate her fortunes, at firſt with admiration, at length with pity, always with attention; and when that attention is diverted from the Capitol to the provinces they are conſidered as ſo many branches which have been ſucceſſively ſevered from the Imperial trunk. The foundation of a ſecond Rome, on the ſhores of the Boſphorus, has compelled the hiſtorian to follow the ſucceſſors of Conſtantine; and our curioſity has been tempted to viſit the moſt remote countries of Europe and Aſia, to explore the cauſes and the authors of the long decay of the Byzantine monarchy. By the conqueſts of Juſtinian, we have been recalled to the banks of the Tyber, to the deliverance of the ancient metropolis; but that deliverance was a change, or perhaps an aggravation, of ſervitude.

been already ſtripped of her trophies, her gods, and her Cæſars: nor was the Gothic dominion more inglorious and oppreſſive than the tyranny of the Greeks. In the eighth century of the Chriſtian æra, a religious quarrel, the worſhip of images, provoked the Romans to aſſert their independence: their biſhop became the temporal, as well as the ſpiritual, father of a free people; and of the Weſtern empire, which was reſtored by Charlemagne, the title and image ſtill decorate the ſingular conſtitution of modern Germany. The name of Rome muſt yet command our involuntary reſpect: the climate (whatſoever may be its influence) was no longer the ſame[1]: the purity of blood had been contaminated through a thouſand channels; but the venerable aſpect of her ruins, and the memory of paſt greatneſs, rekindled a ſpark of the national character. The darkneſs of the middle ages exhibits ſome ſcenes not unworthy of our notice. Nor ſhall I diſmiſs the preſent work till I have reviewed the ſtate and revolutions of the ROMAN CITY, which acquieſced under the abſolute dominion of the popes about the ſame time that Conſtantinople was enſlaved by the Turkiſh arms.

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[1] The Abbé Dubos, who, with leſs genius than his ſucceſſor Monteſquieu, has aſſerted and magnified the influence of climate, objects to himſelf the degeneracy of the Romans and Batavians. To the firſt of theſe examples he replies, 1. That the change is leſs real than apparent, and that the modern Romans prudently conceal in themſelves the virtues of their anceſtors. 2. That the air, the ſoil, and the climate of Rome have ſuffered a great and viſible alteration (Reflexions ſur la Poëſie et ſur la Peinture, part. ii. ſect. 16.).

The French and German emperors of Rome, A.D. 800—1100.

In the beginning of the twelfth century [2], the æra of the firſt cruſade, Rome was revered by the Latins, as the metropolis of the world, as the throne of the pope and the emperor, who, from the eternal city, derived their title, their honours, and the right or exerciſe of temporal dominion. After ſo long an interruption, it may not be uſeleſs to repeat that the ſucceſſors of Charlemagne and the Othos were choſen beyond the Rhine in a national diet; but that theſe princes were content with the humble names of kings of Germany and Italy, till they had paſſed the Alps and the Apennine, to ſeek their imperial crown on the banks of the Tyber [3]. At ſome diſtance from the city, their approach was ſaluted by a long proceſſion of the clergy and people with palms and croſſes; and the terrific emblems of wolves and lions, of dragons and eagles, that flowed in the military banners, repreſented the departed legions and cohorts of the republic. The royal oath to maintain the liberties of Rome was thrice reiterated, at the bridge, the gate, and on the ſtairs of the Vatican; and the diſtribution of a cuſtomary donative feebly imitated the magnificence of the firſt Cæſars. In the Church of St. Peter, the coronation was performed by his ſucceſſor: the voice of God was confounded with that of the people; and the public conſent was declared in the acclamations of, "Long life and victory to "our lord the pope! Long life and victory to "our lord the emperor! Long life and victory "to the Roman and Teutonic armies[4]!" The names of Cæſar and Auguſtus, the laws of Conſtantine and Juſtinian, the example of Charlemagne and Otho, eſtabliſhed the ſupreme dominion of the emperors; their title and image was engraved on the papal coins[5]; and their juriſdiction was marked by the ſword of juſtice, which they delivered to the præfect of the city. But every Roman prejudice was awakened by the name, the language, and the manners, of a Barbarian lord. The Cæſars of Saxony or Franconia were the chiefs of a feudal ariſtocracy; nor could they exerciſe the diſcipline of civil and military power, which alone ſecures the obedience of a diſtant people, impatient of ſervitude, though perhaps incapable of freedom. Once, and once only, in his life, each emperor, with an army of Teutonic vaſſals, deſcended from the Alps. I have deſcribed the peaceful order of his entry and coronation; but that order was commonly diſturbed by the clamour and ſedition of the Romans, who encountered their ſovereign as a foreign invader: his departure was always ſpeedy, and often ſhameful; and, in the abſence of a long reign, his authority was inſulted and his name was forgotten. The progreſs of independence in Germany and Italy undermined the foundations of the Imperial ſovereignty, and the triumph of the popes was the deliverance of Rome.

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[2] The reader has been ſo long abſent from Rome, that I would adviſe him to recollect or review the xlixth chapter, in the ixth volume of this Hiſtory.

[3] The coronation of the German emperors at Rome, more eſpecially in the xith century, is beſt repreſented from the original monuments by Muratori (Antiquitat. Italiæ medii Ævi, tom. i. diſſertat. ii. p. 99, &c.) and Cenni (Monument. Domin. Pontif. tom. ii. diſſ. vi. p. 261.), the latter of whom I only know from the copious extract of Schmidt (Hiſt. des Allemands, tom. iii. p. 255—266.)

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[4] Exercitui Romano et Teutonico! The latter was both ſeen and felt; but the former was no more than magni nominis umbra.

[5] Muratori has given the ſeries of the papal coins (Antiquitat. tom. ii. diſſ. xxvii. p. 548—554.). He finds only two more early than the year 800: fifty are ſtill extant from Leo III. to Leo IX. with the addition of the reigning emperor; none remain of Gregory VII. or Urban II.; but in thoſe of Paſchal II. he ſeems to have renounced this badge of dependence.

Authority of the popes in Rome,

Of her two ſovereigns, the emperor had precariouſly reigned by the right of conqueſt; but the authority of the popes was founded on the ſoft, though more ſolid, baſis of opinion and habit. The removal of a foreign influence reſtored and endeared the ſhepherd to his flock. Inſtead of the arbitrary or venal nomination of a German court, the vicar of Chriſt was freely choſen by the college of cardinals, moſt of whom were either natives or inhabitants of the city. The applauſe of the magiſtrates and people confirmed his election; and the eccleſiaſtical power that was obeyed in Sweden and Britain, had been ultimately derived from the ſuffrage of the Romans. The ſame ſuffrage gave a prince, as well as a pontiff, to the capital. It was univerſally believed, that Conſtantine had inveſted the popes with a temporal dominion of Rome; and the boldeſt civilians, the moſt profane ſceptics, were ſatisfied with diſputing the right of the emperor and the validity of his gift. The truth of the fact, the authenticity of his donation, was deeply rooted in the ignorance and tradition of four centuries: and the fabulous origin was loſt in the real and permanent effects.

from affection;

The name of *Dominus* or Lord was inſcribed on the coin of the biſhops: their title was acknowledged by acclamations and oaths of allegiance, and with the free, or reluctant, conſent of the German Cæſars, they had long exerciſed a ſupreme or ſubordinate juriſdiction over the city and patrimony of St. Peter. The reign of the popes, which gratified the prejudices, was not incompatible with the liberties of Rome; and a more critical inquiry would have revealed a ſtill nobler ſource of their power; the gratitude of a nation, whom they had reſcued from the hereſy and oppreſſion of the Greek tyrant. In an age of ſuperſtition, it ſhould ſeem that the union of the royal and ſacerdotal characters would mutually fortify each other; and that the keys of paradiſe would be the ſureſt pledge of earthly obedience. The ſanctity of the office might indeed be degraded by the perſonal vices of the man. But the ſcandals of the tenth century were obliterated by the auſtere and more dangerous virtues of Gregory the ſeventh and his ſucceſſors; and in the ambitious conteſts which they maintained for the rights of the church, their ſufferings or their ſucceſs muſt equally tend to increaſe the popular veneration. They ſometimes wandered in poverty and exile, the victims of perſecution; and the apoſtolic zeal with which they offered themſelves to martyrdom, muſt engage the favour and ſympathy of every Catholic breaſt. And ſometimes, thundering from the Vatican, they created, judged, and depoſed the kings of the world: nor could the proudeſt Roman be diſgraced by ſubmitting to a

right;

virtue;

prieſt, whoſe feet were kiſſed, and whoſe ſtirrup was held, by the ſucceſſors of Charlemagne[6]. Even the temporal intereſt of the city ſhould have protected in peace and honour the reſidence of the popes; from whence a vain and lazy people derived the greateſt part of their ſubſiſtence and riches. The fixed revenue of the popes was probably impaired: many of the old patrimonial eſtates, both in Italy and the provinces, had been invaded by ſacrilegious hands; nor could the loſs be compenſated by the claim, rather than the poſſeſſion, of the more ample gifts of Pepin and his deſcendants. But the Vatican and Capitol were nouriſhed by the inceſſant and encreaſing ſwarms of pilgrims and ſuppliants: the pale of Chriſtianity was enlarged, and the pope and cardinals were overwhelmed by the judgment of eccleſiaſtical and ſecular cauſes. A new juriſprudence had eſtabliſhed in the Latin church the right and practice of appeals[7]; and, from the North and Weſt, the biſhops and abbots were invited or ſummoned to ſolicit, to complain, to accuſe, or to juſtify, before the threſhold of

Riches.

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[6] [illegible]

[7] [illegible]

the apoſtles. A rare prodigy is once recorded, that two horſes, belonging to the archbiſhops of Mentz and Cologne, repaſſed the Alps, yet laden with gold and ſilver[8]: but it was ſoon underſtood, that the ſucceſs, both of the pilgrims and clients, depended much leſs on the juſtice of their cauſe than on the value of their offering. The wealth and piety of theſe ſtrangers were oſtentatiouſly diſplayed; and their expences, ſacred or profane, circulated in various channels for the emolument of the Romans.

Inconſtancy of ſuperſtition.

Such powerful motives ſhould have firmly attached the voluntary and pious obedience of the Roman people to their ſpiritual and temporal father. But the operation of prejudice and intereſt is often diſturbed by the ſallies of ungovernable paſſion. The Indian who fells the tree, that he may gather the fruit[9], and the Arab who plunders the caravans of commerce, are actuated by the ſame impulſe of ſavage nature, which overlooks the future in the preſent, and relinquiſhes for momentary rapine the long and ſecure poſſeſſion of the moſt important bleſſings. And it was thus, that the ſhrine of St. Peter was profaned by the thoughtleſs Romans; who pillaged the offerings, and wounded the pilgrims, without computing the number and value of ſimilar viſits, which they prevented by their inhoſpitable ſacrilege. Even the influence of ſuperſtition is fluctuating and precarious: and the ſlave, whoſe reaſon is ſubdued, will often be delivered by his avarice or pride. A credulous devotion for the fables and oracles of the prieſthood, moſt powerfully acts on the mind of a Barbarian: yet ſuch a mind is the leaſt capable of preferring imagination to ſenſe, of ſacrificing to a diſtant motive, to an inviſible, perhaps an ideal, object, the appetites and intereſts of the preſent world. In the vigour of health and youth, his practice will perpetually contradict his belief; till the preſſure of age, or ſickneſs, or calamity, awakens his terrors, and compels him to ſatisfy the double debt of piety and remorſe. I have already obſerved, that the modern times of religious indifference, are the moſt favourable to the peace and ſecurity of the clergy. Under the reign of ſuperſtition, they had much to hope from the ignorance, and much to fear from the violence, of mankind. The wealth, whoſe conſtant encreaſe muſt have rendered them the ſole proprietors of the earth, was alternately beſtowed by the repentant father and plundered by the rapacious ſon: their perſons were adored or violated; and the ſame idol, by the hands of the ſame votaries, was placed on the altar or trampled in the duſt. In the feudal ſyſtem of Europe, arms were the title of diſtinction and the meaſure of allegiance; and amidſt their tumult, the ſtill voice of law and reaſon was ſeldom heard or obeyed. The turbulent Romans diſdained

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[8] Germanici . . . . ſummarii non levatis ſarcinis onuſti nihilominus repatriant inviti. Nova res! quando hactenus aurum Roma refudit? Et nunc Romanorum conſilio id uſurpatum non credimus (Bernard de Conſideratione, l. iii. c. 3. p. 437). The firſt words of the paſſage are obſcure, and probably corrupt.

[9] Quand les ſauvages de la Louiſiane veulent avoir du fruit, ils coupent l'arbre au pied et cueillent le fruit. Voila le gouvernement deſpotique (Eſprit des Loix, l. v. c. 13); and paſſion and ignorance are always deſpotic.

dained the yoke, and inſulted the impotence, of their biſhop[10]; nor would his education or character allow him to exerciſe, with decency or effect, the power of the ſword. The motives of his election and the frailties of his life were expoſed to their familiar obſervation; and proximity muſt diminiſh the reverence, which his name and his decrees impreſſed on a barbarous world. This difference has not eſcaped the notice of our philoſophic hiſtorian: "Though the name and authority of the court of Rome were ſo terrible in the remote countries of Europe, which were ſunk in profound ignorance, and were entirely unacquainted with its character and conduct, the pope was ſo little revered at home, that his inveterate enemies ſurrounded the gates of Rome itſelf, and even controlled his government in that city; and the ambaſſadors, who, from a diſtant extremity of Europe, carried to him the humble, or rather abject, ſubmiſſions of the greateſt potentate of the age, found the utmoſt difficulty to make their way to him, and to throw themſelves at his feet[11]."

Since

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[10] In a free converſation with his countryman Adrian IV. John of Saliſbury accuſes the avarice of the pope and clergy: Provinciarum diripiunt ſpolia, ac ſi theſauros Crœſi ſtudeant reparare. Sed recte cum eis agit Altiſſimus, quoniam et ipſi aliis et ſæpe viliſſimis hominibus dati ſunt in direptionem (de Nugis Curialium, l. vi. c. 24. p. 387.). In the next page, he blames the raſhneſs and infidelity of the Romans, whom their biſhops vainly ſtrove to conciliate by gifts, inſtead of virtues. It is pity that this miſcellaneous writer has not given us leſs morality and erudition, and more pictures of himſelf and the times.

[11] Hume's Hiſtory of England, vol. i. p. 419. The ſame writer has given us, from Fitz-Stephen, a ſingular act of cruelty perpetrated

Successors of Gregory VII. A.D. 1086—1305.

Since the primitive times, the wealth of the popes was exposed to envy, their power to oppoſition, and their perſons to violence. But the long hoſtility of the mitre and the crown encreaſed the numbers, and inflamed the paſſions, of their enemies. The deadly factions of the Guelphs and Ghibelines, ſo fatal to Italy, could never be embraced with truth or conſtancy by the Romans, the ſubjects and adverſaries both of the biſhop and emperor; but their ſupport was ſolicited by both parties; and they alternately diſplayed in their banners the keys of St. Peter and the German eagle. Gregory the ſeventh, who may be adored or deteſted as the founder of the papal monarchy, was driven from Rome, and died in exile at Salerno. Six-and-thirty of his ſucceſſors[12], till their retreat to Avignon, maintained an unequal conteſt with the Romans: their age and dignity were often violated; and the churches, in the ſolemn rites of religion, were polluted with ſedition and murder. A repetition[13] of ſuch capricious

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propoſed to the clergy by Geoffrey, the father of Henry II. [illegible] ſuperfluous [illegible].

[12] From Leo IX. and Gregory VII. an authentic and contemporary ſeries of the lives of the popes by the cardinal of Arragon, Pandulphus Piſanus, Bernard Guido, &c. is inſerted in the Italian Hiſtorians of Muratori (tom. iii. P. i. p. 277—685.), and has been always before my eyes.

[13] The dates of years in the margin, may throughout this chapter be underſtood as tacit references to the Annals of Muratori, my

vicious brutality, without connection or deſign, would be tedious and diſguſting: and I ſhall content myſelf with ſome events of the twelfth century, which repreſent the ſtate of the popes and the city. On Holy Thurſday, while Paſchal officiated before the altar, he was interrupted by the clamours of the multitude, who imperiouſly demanded the confirmation of a favourite magiſtrate. His ſilence exaſperated their fury: his pious refuſal to mingle the affairs of earth and heaven was encountered with menaces and oaths, that he ſhould be the cauſe and the witneſs of the public ruin. During the feſtival of Eaſter, while the biſhop and the clergy, barefoot and in proceſſion, viſited the tombs of the martyrs, they were twice aſſaulted, at the bridge of St. Angelo, and before the Capitol, with vollies of ſtones and darts. The houſes of his adherents were levelled with the ground: Paſchal eſcaped with difficulty and danger: he levelled an army in the patrimony of St. Peter; and his laſt days were embittered by ſuffering and inflicting the calamities of civil war.

Paſchal II. A.D. 1099—1118.

The ſcenes that followed the election of his ſucceſſor Gelaſius the ſecond were ſtill more ſcandalous to the church and city. Cencio Frangipani[34], a potent and factious baron, burſt into the

Gelaſius II. A.D. 1118, 1119.

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my ordinary and excellent guide. He uſes, and indeed quotes, with the freedom of a maſter, his great Collection of the Italian Hiſtorians, in xxviii. volumes; and as that treaſure is in my library, I have thought it an amuſement, if not a duty, to conſult the originals.

[34] I cannot refrain from tranſcribing the high-coloured words of Pandulphus Piſanus (p. 384.): Hoc audiens inimicus pacis atque turbator jam fatus Centius Frajapane, more draconis immaniſſimi ſibilans, et ab imis pectoribus trahens longa ſuſpiria, accinctus

the aſſembly furious and in arms: the cardinals were ſtripped, beaten, and trampled under foot; and he ſeized, without pity or reſpect, the vicar of Chriſt by the throat. Gelaſius was dragged by his hair along the ground, buffeted with blows, wounded with ſpurs, and bound with an iron chain in the houſe of his brutal tyrant. An inſurrection of the people delivered their biſhop: the rival families oppoſed the violence of the Frangipani; and Cencio, who ſued for pardon, repented of the failure, rather than of the guilt, of his enterpriſe. Not many days had elapſed, when the pope was again aſſaulted at the altar. While his friends and enemies were engaged in a bloody conteſt he eſcaped in his ſacerdotal garments. In this unworthy flight, which excited the compaſſion of the Roman matrons, his attendants were ſcattered or unhorſed; and, in the fields behind the church of St. Peter, his ſucceſſor was found alone and half-dead with fear and fatigue. Shaking the duſt from his feet, the *apoſtle* withdrew from a city in which his dignity was inſulted and his perſon was endangered; and the vanity of ſacerdotal ambition is revealed in the involuntary confeſſion, that one emperor was more tolerable than twenty[15]. Theſe

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cinctus retro gladio ſine more cucurrit, valvas ac fores confregit. Eccleſiam furibundus introiit, inde cuſtode remoto papam per gulam accepit, diſtraxit, pugnis calcibuſque percuſſit, et tanquam brutum animal intra limen eccleſiæ acriter calcaribus cruentavit; et latro tantum dominum per capillos et brachia, Jeſû bono interim dormiente, detraxit ad domum, uſque deduxit, inibi catenavit et incluſit.

[15] Ego coram Deo et eccleſiâ dico, ſi unquam poſſibile eſſet, mallem unum imperatorem quam tot dominos (Vit. Gelaſ. II. p. 398.).

examples

Lucius II. A.D. 1144, 1145.

Lucius III. A.D. 1181—1185.

examples might ſuffice; but I cannot forget the ſufferings of two pontiffs of the ſame age, the ſecond and third of the name of Lucius. The former, as he aſcended in battle-array to aſſault the Capitol, was ſtruck on the temple by a ſtone, and expired in a few days. The latter was ſeverely wounded in the perſons of his ſervants. In a civil commotion, ſeveral of his prieſts had been made priſoners; and the inhuman Romans, reſerving one as a guide for his brethren, put out their eyes, crowned them with ludicrous mitres, mounted them on aſſes with their faces to the tail, and extorted an oath, that, in this wretched condition, they ſhould offer themſelves as a leſſon to the head of the church. Hope or fear, laſſitude or remorſe, the characters of the men, and the circumſtances of the times, might ſometimes obtain an interval of peace and obedience; and the pope was reſtored with joyful acclamations to the Lateran or Vatican, from whence he had been driven with threats and violence. But the root of miſchief was deep and perennial; and a momentary calm was preceded and followed by ſuch tempeſts as had almoſt ſunk the bark of St. Peter. Rome continually preſented the aſpect of war and diſcord: the churches and palaces were fortified and aſſaulted by the factions and families; and, after giving peace to Europe, Caliſtus the ſecond alone had reſolution and power to prohibit the uſe of private arms in the metropolis. Among the nations who revered the apoſtolic throne, the tumults of Rome provoked a general indignation; and, in a letter to his diſciple Eugenius the third, St. Bernard, with the ſharpneſs of his wit and zeal, has ſtigmatiſed the

Caliſtus II. A.D. 1119—1124.

Innocent II. A.D. 1130—1143.

vices

CHAP. LXIX.

Character of the Romans by St. Bernard.

vices of the rebellious people[16]. "Who is ignorant," says the monk of Clairvaux, "of the vanity and arrogance of the Romans? a nation nursed in sedition, cruel, untractable, and scorning to obey, unless they are too feeble to resist. When they promise to serve, they aspire to reign; if they swear allegiance, they watch the opportunity of revolt; yet they vent their discontent in loud clamours if your doors, or your counsels, are shut against them. Dexterous in mischief, they have never learnt the science of doing good. Odious to earth and heaven, impious to God, seditious among themselves, jealous of their neighbours, inhuman to strangers; they love no one, by no one are they beloved; and while they wish to inspire fear, they live in base and continual apprehension. They will not submit; they know not how to govern; faithless to their superiors, intolerable to their equals, ungrateful to their benefactors, and alike impudent in their demands and their refusals. Lofty in promise, poor in execution; adulation and calumny, perfidy and treason, are the familiar arts of their policy." Surely this dark portrait is not coloured by the pencil of Christian charity[17]; yet the features, however harsh and

ugly,

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[16] [illegible]

[17] [illegible] Bernard, [illegible]

ngly, expreſs a lively reſemblance of the Romans of the twelfth century [18].

Political hereſy of Arnold of Breſcia, A.D. 1140.

The Jews had rejected the Chriſt when he appeared among them in a plebeian character; and the Romans might plead their ignorance of his vicar when he aſſumed the pomp and pride of a temporal ſovereign. In the buſy age of the cruſades, ſome ſparks of curioſity and reaſon were rekindled in the Weſtern world: the hereſy of Bulgaria, the Paulician ſect, was ſucceſsfully tranſplanted into the ſoil of Italy and France; the Gnoſtic viſions were mingled with the ſimplicity of the goſpel; and the enemies of the clergy reconciled their paſſions with their conſcience, the deſire of freedom with the profeſſion of piety [19]. The trumpet of Roman liberty was firſt ſounded by Arnold of Breſcia [20], whoſe promotion in the church was confined to the loweſt rank, and who wore the monaſtic habit rather as a garb of poverty

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by reſentment, and poſſibly repent of his haſty paſſion, &c. (Memoires ſur la Vie de Petrarque, tom. i. p. 330.).

[18] Baronius, in his index to the xiith volume of his Annals, has found a fair and eaſy excuſe. He makes two heads, of Romani *Catholici*, and *Schiſmatici*: to the former he applies all the good, to the latter all the evil, that is told of the city.

[19] The hereſies of the xiith century may be found in Moſheim (Inſtitut. Hiſt. Eccleſ. p. 419—427), who entertains a favourable opinion of Arnold of Breſcia. In the vth volume I have deſcribed the ſect of the Paulicians, and followed their migration from Armenia to Thrace and Bulgaria, Italy and France.

[20] The original pictures of Arnold of Breſcia, are drawn by Otho, biſhop of Friſingen (Chron. l. vii. c. 31. de Geſtis Frederici I. l. i. c. 27. l. ii. c. 21.), and in the iiid book of the Ligurinus, a poem of Gunther, who flouriſhed A.D. 1200, in the monaſtery of Paris near Baſil (Fabric. Bibliot. Latin. med. et infimæ Ætatis, tom. iii. p. 174, 175.). The long paſſage that relates to Arnold, is produced by Guilliman (de Rebus Helvet. l. iii. c. 5. p. 108.).

than as an uniform of obedience. His adverſaries could not deny the wit and eloquence which they ſeverely felt: they confeſs with reluctance the ſpecious purity of his morals; and his errors were recommended to the public by a mixture of important and beneficial truths. In his theological ſtudies, he had been the diſciple of the famous and unfortunate Abelard[21], who was likewiſe involved in the ſuſpicion of hereſy: but the lover of Eloiſa was of a ſoft and flexible nature; and his eccleſiaſtic judges were edified and diſarmed by the humility of his repentance. From this maſter, Arnold moſt probably imbibed ſome metaphyſical definitions of the Trinity, repugnant to the taſte of the times: his ideas of baptiſm and the euchariſt are looſely cenſured; but a *political* hereſy was the ſource of his fame and misfortunes. He preſumed to quote the declaration of Chriſt, that his kingdom is not of this world: he boldly maintained, that the ſword and the ſceptre were entruſted to the civil magiſtrate; that temporal honours and poſſeſſions were lawfully veſted in ſecular perſons; that the abbots, the biſhops, and the pope himſelf, muſt renounce either their ſtate or their ſalvation; and that after the loſs of their revenues, the voluntary tithes and oblations of the faithful would ſuffice, not indeed for luxury and avarice, but for a frugal life in the exerciſe of ſpiritual labours. During a ſhort time, the preacher was revered as a patriot; and the diſcontent, or revolt, of Breſcia againſt her biſhop, was the firſt fruits of his dangerous leſſons. But the favour of the people is leſs permanent than the reſentment of the prieſt; and after the hereſy of Arnold had been condemned by Innocent the ſecond[22], in the general council of the Lateran, the magiſtrates themſelves were urged by prejudice and fear to execute the ſentence of the church. Italy could no longer afford a refuge; and the diſciple of Abelard eſcaped beyond the Alps, till he found a ſafe and hoſpitable ſhelter in Zurich, now the firſt of the Swiſs cantons. From a Roman ſtation[23], a royal villa, a chapter of noble virgins, Zurich had gradually encreaſed to a free and flouriſhing city; where the appeals of the Milaneſe were ſometimes tried by the Imperial commiſſaries[24]. In an age leſs ripe for reformation, the præcurſor of Zuinglius was heard with applauſe: a brave and ſimple people imbibed and long retained the colour of his opinions; and his art, or merit, ſeduced the biſhop of Conſtance, and even the pope's legate, who forgot, for his ſake, the intereſt of their maſter and their order. Their tardy zeal was quickened by the fierce exhortations of St. Bernard[25]; and the enemy of the church was driven by perſecution to the deſperate meaſure of erecting his ſtandard in Rome itſelf, in the face of the ſucceſſor of St. Peter.

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[21] The wicked wit of Bayle was amuſed in compoſing, with much levity and learning, the articles of ABELARD, FOULQUES, HELOISE, in his Dictionnaire Critique. The diſpute of Abelard and St. Bernard, of ſcholaſtic and poſitive divinity, is well underſtood by Moſheim (Inſtitut. Hiſt. Eccleſ. p. 412—415).

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[22] ——Damnatus ab illo
Præſule, qui numeros vetitum contingere noſtros
Nomen ab *innocuá* ducit laudabile vitá.

We may applaud the dexterity and correctneſs of Ligurinus, who turns the unpoetical name of Innocent II. into a compliment.

[23] A Roman inſcription of Statio Turicenſis has been found at Zurich (d'Anville, Notice de l'ancienne Gaule, p. 642—644.): but it is without ſufficient warrant, that the city and canton have uſurped, and even monopoliſed, the names of Tigurum and Pagus Tigurinus.

[24] Guilliman (de Rebus Helveticis, l. iii. c. 5. p. 106.) recapitulates the donation (A. D. 833) of the emperor Lewis the Pious to his daughter the abbeſs Hildegardis. Curtim noſtram Turegum in ducatû Alamanniæ in pago Durgaugenſi, with villages, woods, meadows, waters, ſlaves, churches, &c. a noble gift. Charles the Bold gave the jus monetæ, the city was walled under Otho I. and the line of the biſhop of Friſingen,

Nobile Turegum multarum copiâ rerum,

is repeated with pleaſure by the antiquaries of Zurich.

He exhorts the Romans to reſtore the republic, A.D. 1144—1154.

Yet the courage of Arnold was not devoid of diſcretion; he was protected, and had perhaps been invited, by the nobles and people; and in the ſervice of freedom, his eloquence thundered over the ſeven hills. Blending in the ſame diſcourſe the texts of Livy and St. Paul, uniting the motives of goſpel, and of claſſic, enthuſiaſm, he admoniſhed the Romans, how ſtrangely their patience and the vices of the clergy had degenerated from the primitive times of the church and the city. He exhorted them to aſſert the inalienable rights of men and Chriſtians; to reſtore the laws and magiſtrates of the republic; to reſpect the name of the emperor; but to confine their ſhepherd to the ſpiritual government of his flock[26]. Nor could his ſpiritual government eſcape the cenſure and control of the reformer; and the inferior clergy were taught by his leſſons to reſiſt the cardinals, who had uſurped a deſpotic command over the twenty-eight regions or pariſhes of Rome[27]. The revolution was not accompliſhed without rapine and violence, the effuſion of blood and the demolition of houſes: the victorious faction was enriched with the ſpoils of the clergy and the adverſe nobles. Arnold of Breſcia enjoyed, or deplored, the effects of his miſſion: his reign continued above ten years, while two popes, Innocent the ſecond and Anaſtaſius the fourth, either trembled in the Vatican, or wandered as exiles in the adjacent cities. They were ſucceeded by a more vigorous and fortunate pontiff, Adrian the fourth[28], the only Engliſhman who has aſcended the throne of St. Peter; and whoſe merit emerged from the mean condition of a monk, and almoſt a beggar, in the monaſtery of St. Albans. On the firſt provocation, of a cardinal killed or wounded in the ſtreets, he caſt an interdict on the guilty people; and, from Chriſtmas to Eaſter, Rome was deprived of the real or imaginary comforts of religious worſhip. The Romans had deſpiſed their temporal prince; they ſubmitted with grief and terror to the cenſures of their ſpiritual father; their guilt was expiated by penance, and the baniſhment of the ſe-

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[25] Bernard, Epiſtol. cxcv, cxcvi. tom. i. p. 187—190. Amidſt his invectives he drops a precious acknowledgment, qui utinam quam ſanæ eſſet doctrinæ quam diſtrictæ eſt vitæ. He owns that Arnold would be a deſirable acquiſition for the church.

[26] He adviſed the Romans,

Conſiliis armiſque ſua moderamina ſumma
Arbitrio tractare ſuo: nil juris in hâc re
Pontifici ſummo, modicum concedere regi
Suadebat populo. Sic læſâ ſtultus utrâque
Majeſtate, reum geminæ ſe fecerat aulæ.

Nor is the poetry of Gunther different from the proſe of Otho.

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[27] See Baronius (A. D. 1148, N° 38, 39.) from the Vatican MSS. He loudly condemns Arnold (A. D. 1141, N° 3.) as the father of the political heretics, whoſe influence then hurt him in France.

[28] The Engliſh reader may conſult the Biographia Britannica, ADRIAN IV. but our own writers have added nothing to the fame or merits of their countryman.

ditious

ditious preacher was the price of their abſolution. But the revenge of Adrian was yet unſatisfied, and the approaching coronation of Frederic Barbaroſſa was fatal to the bold reformer, who had offended, though not in an equal degree, the heads of the church and ſtate. In their interview at Viterbo, the pope repreſented to the emperor the furious ungovernable ſpirit of the Romans: the inſults, the injuries, the fears, to which his perſon and his clergy were continually expoſed; and the pernicious tendency of the hereſy of Arnold, which muſt ſubvert the principles of civil, as well as eccleſiaſtical, ſubordination. Frederic was convinced by theſe arguments, or tempted by the deſire of the imperial crown; in the balance of ambition, the innocence or life of an individual is of ſmall account; and their common enemy was ſacrificed to a moment of political concord. After his retreat from Rome, Arnold had been protected by the viſcounts of Campania, from whom he was extorted by the power of Cæſar: the præfect of the city pronounced his ſentence; the martyr of freedom was burnt alive in the preſence of a careleſs and ungrateful people; and his aſhes were caſt into the Tyber, leſt the heretics ſhould collect and worſhip the relics of their maſter[79]. The clergy triumphed in his death: with his aſhes, his ſect was diſperſed; his memory ſtill lived in the minds of the Romans. From his ſchool they had probably derived a new article of

His execution, A.D. 1155.

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[79] Beſides the hiſtorian and poet already quoted, the laſt adventures of Arnold are related by the Biographer of Adrian IV. (Muratori, Script. Rerum Ital. tom. iii. P. i. p. 441, 442.)

faith, that the metropolis of the Catholic church is exempt from the penalties of excommunication and interdict. Their biſhops might argue, that the ſupreme juriſdiction, which they exerciſed over kings and nations, more ſpecially embraced the city and dioceſe of the prince of the apoſtles. But they preached to the winds, and the ſame principle that weakened the effect, muſt temper the abuſe, of the thunders of the Vatican.

Reſtoration of the Senate, A.D. 1144.

The love of ancient freedom has encouraged a belief, that as early as the tenth century, in their firſt ſtruggles againſt the Saxon Othos, the commonwealth was vindicated and reſtored by the ſenate and people of Rome; that two conſuls were annually elected among the nobles, and that ten or twelve plebeian magiſtrates revived the name and office of the tribunes of the commons[30]. But this venerable ſtructure diſappears before the light of criticiſm. In the darkneſs of the middle ages, the appellations of ſenators, of conſuls, of the ſons of conſuls, may ſometimes be diſcovered[31].

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[30] Ducange (Gloſſ. Latinitatis mediæ et infimæ Ætatis, DECARCHONES, tom. ii. p. 726.) gives me a quotation from Blondus (decad. ii. l. ii.): Duo conſules ex nobilitate quotannis fiebant, qui ad vetuſtum conſulum exemplar ſummæ rerum præeſſent. And in Sigonius (de Regno Italiæ, l. vi. opp. tom. ii. p. 400.) I read of the conſuls and tribunes of the xth century. Both Blondus, and even Sigonius, too freely copied the claſſic method of ſupplying from reaſon or fancy the deficiency of records.

[31] In the panegyric of Berengarius (Muratori, Script. Rer. Ital. tom. ii. P. i. p. 408.), a Roman is mentioned as conſulis natus in the beginning of the xth century. Muratori (diſſert. v.) diſcovers in the years 952 and 956, Gratianus in Dei nomine conſul et dux, Georgius conſul et dux; and in 1015, Romanus, brother of Gregory VIII. proudly, but vaguely, ſtyles himſelf conſul et dux et omnium Romanorum ſenator.

They were beſtowed by the emperors, or aſſumed by the moſt powerful citizens, to denote their rank, their honours[32], and perhaps the claim of a pure and patrician deſcent: but they float on the ſurface, without a ſeries or a ſubſtance, the titles of men, not the orders of government[33]; and it is only from the year of Chriſt one thouſand one hundred and forty-four, that the eſtabliſhment of the ſenate is dated, as a glorious æra, in the acts of the city. A new conſtitution was haſtily framed by private ambition or popular enthuſiaſm; nor could Rome, in the twelfth century, produce an antiquary to explain, or a legiſlator to reſtore, the harmony and proportions of the ancient model. The aſſembly of a free, of an armed, people, will ever ſpeak in loud and weighty acclamations. But the regular diſtribution of the thirty-five tribes, the nice balance of the wealth and numbers of the centuries, the debates of the adverſe orators, and the ſlow operation of votes and ballots, could not eaſily be adapted by a blind multitude, ignorant of the arts, and inſenſible of the benefits, of legal government. It was propoſed by Arnold to revive and diſcriminate the equeſtrian order; but what could be the motive or meaſure of ſuch diſtinction[34]? The pecuniary qualification of the knights muſt have been reduced to the poverty of the times: thoſe times no longer required their civil functions of judges and farmers of the revenue; and their primitive duty, their military ſervice on horſeback, was more nobly ſupplied by feudal tenures and the ſpirit of chivalry. The juriſprudence of the republic was uſeleſs and unknown: the nations and families of Italy who lived under the Roman and Barbaric laws were inſenſibly mingled in a common maſs; and ſome faint tradition, ſome imperfect fragments, preſerved the memory of the Code and Pandects of Juſtinian. With their liberty the Romans might doubtleſs have reſtored the appellation and office of conſuls; had they not diſdained a title ſo promiſcuouſly adopted in the Italian cities, that it has finally ſettled on the humble ſtation of the agents of commerce in a foreign land. But the rights of the tribunes, the formidable word that arreſted the public counſels, ſuppoſe or muſt produce a [illegible] democracy. The old patricians were the ſubjects, the modern barons the tyrants, of the [illegible]

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[32] [illegible]

[33] [illegible]

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[34] [illegible] Rome, the equeſtrian [illegible]

who inſulted the vicar of Chriſt, have long reſpected the unarmed ſanctity of a plebeian magiſtrate[35].

The Capitol.

In the revolution of the twelfth century, which gave a new exiſtence and æra to Rome, we may obſerve the real and important events that marked or confirmed her political independence. I. The Capitoline hill, one of her ſeven eminences[36], is about four hundred yards in length, and two hundred in breadth. A flight of an hundred ſteps led to the ſummit of the Tarpeian rock; and far ſteeper was the aſcent before the declivities had been ſmoothed and the precipices filled by the ruins of fallen edifices. From the earlieſt ages, the Capitol had been uſed as a temple in peace, a fortreſs in war: after the loſs of the city, it maintained a ſiege againſt the victorious Gauls; and the ſanctuary of empire was occupied, aſſaulted, and burnt, in the civil wars of Vitellius and Veſpaſian[37]. The temples of Jupiter and his kindred deities had crumbled into duſt; their place was ſupplied by monaſteries and houſes; and the ſolid walls, the long and ſhelving porticoes, were decayed or ruined by the lapſe of time. It was the firſt act of the Romans, an act of Freedom, to reſtore the ſtrength, though not the beauty, of the Capitol; to fortify the ſeat of their arms and counſels; and as often as they aſcended the hill, the coldeſt minds muſt have glowed with the remembrance of their anceſtors.

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[35] The republican plan of Arnold of Breſcia is thus ſtated by Gunther:

Quin etiam titulos urbis renovare vetuſtos;
Nomine plebeio ſecernere nomen equeſtre,
Jura tribunorum, ſanctum reparare ſenatum,
Et ſenio feſſas mutaſque reponere leges.
Lapſa ruinoſis, et adhuc pendentia muris
Reddere primævo Capitolia priſca nitori.

But of theſe reformations, ſome were no more than ideas, others no more than words.

[36] After many diſputes among the antiquaries of Rome, it ſeems determined, that the ſummit of the Capitoline hill next the river is the Mons Tarpeius, the Arx; and that on the other ſummit, the church and convent of Araceli, the barefoot friars of St. Francis occupy the temple of Jupiter (Nardini, Roma Antica, l. v. c. 11—16).

[37] Tacit. Hiſt. iii. 69, 70.

The coin.

II. The firſt Cæſars had been inveſted with the excluſive coinage of the gold and ſilver; to the ſenate they abandoned the baſer metal of bronze or copper[38]: the emblems and legends were inſcribed on a more ample field by the genius of flattery; and the prince was relieved from the care of celebrating his own virtues. The ſucceſſors of Diocletian deſpiſed even the flattery of the ſenate: their royal officers at Rome, and in the provinces, aſſumed the ſole direction of the mint; and the ſame prerogative was inherited by the Gothic kings of Italy, and the long ſeries of the Greek, the French, and the German dynaſties. After an abdication of eight hundred years, the Roman ſenate aſſerted this honourable and lucrative privilege; which was tacitly renounced by the popes, from Paſchal the ſecond to the eſtabliſhment of their reſidence beyond the Alps.

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[38] This partition of the noble and baſer metals between the emperor and ſenate, muſt however be adopted, not as a poſitive fact, but as the probable opinion of the beſt antiquaries (ſee the ſcience des Medailles of the Pere Joubert, tom. ii. p. 208—211. in the improved and ſcarce edition of the Baron de la Baſtie).

Some of theſe republican coins of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries are ſhewn in the cabinets of the curious. On one of theſe, a gold medal, Chriſt is depictured holding in his left hand a book with this inſcription: "THE VOW OF THE "ROMAN SENATE AND PEOPLE: ROME THE "CAPITAL OF THE WORLD;" on the reverſe, St. Peter delivering a banner to a kneeling ſenator in his cap and gown, with the name and arms of his family impreſſed on a ſhield[52]. With the empire, the præfect of the city had declined to a municipal officer; yet he ſtill exerciſed in the laſt appeal the civil and criminal juriſdiction; and a drawn ſword, which he received from the ſucceſſors of Otho, was the mode of his inveſtiture and the emblem of his functions[53]. The dignity was confined to the noble families of Rome; the choice of the people was ratified by the pope; but a triple oath of fidelity muſt have often embarraſſed the præfect in the conflict of adverſe

The præfect of the city.

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[52] [illegible] xxvii. Diſſertation on the Antiquities of Italy (tom. i. p. 559 [illegible]

[53] [illegible]

puties[41]. A ſervant, in whom they poſſeſſed but a third ſhare, was diſmiſſed by the independent Romans: in his place they elected a patrician; but this title, which Charlemagne had not diſdained, was too lofty for a citizen or a ſubject; and, after the firſt fervour of rebellion, they conſented without reluctance to the reſtoration of the prefect. About fifty years after this event, Innocent the third, the moſt ambitious, or at leaſt the moſt fortunate, of the pontiffs, delivered the Romans and himſelf from this badge of foreign dominion: he inveſted the prefect with a banner inſtead of a ſword, and abſolved him from all dependance of oaths or ſervice to the German emperors[42]. In his place an eccleſiaſtic, a preſent or future cardinal was named by the pope to the civil government of Rome; but his juriſdiction has been reduced to a narrow compaſs; and in the days of freedom, the right or exerciſe was derived from the ſenate and people. IV. After the revival of the ſenate[43], the conſcript fathers (if I may uſe the expreſſion) were inveſted with the legiſlative and executive power; but their views ſeldom

A. D. 1198—1216.

Number and choice of the ſenate.

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[41] The words of a contemporary writer (Pandulph. Piſan. in Vit. Paſchal. II. p. 357, 358.) deſcribe the election and oath of the præfect in 1118, inconſultis patribus . . . . loca præfectoria . . . . Laudes præfectoriæ . . . . comitiorum applauſum . . . . juraturum populo in ambonem ſublevant . . . . confirmari eum in urbe præfectum petunt.

[42] Urbis præfectum ad ligiam fidelitatem recepit, et per mantum quod illi donavit de præfecturâ eum publice inveſtivit, qui uſque ad id tempus juramento fidelitatis imperatori fuit obligatus et ab eo præfecturæ tenuit honorem (Geſta Innocent. III. in Muratori, tom. iii. P. i. p. 487.).

[43] See Otho Friſing. Chron. vii. 31. de Geſt. Frederic I. l. i. c. 27.

reached beyond the preſent day; and that day was moſt frequently diſturbed by violence and tumult. In its utmoſt plenitude, the order or aſſembly conſiſted of fifty-ſix ſenators[44], the moſt eminent of whom were diſtinguiſhed by the title of counſellors; they were nominated, perhaps annually, by the people; and a previous choice of their electors, ten perſons in each region, or pariſh, might afford a baſis for a free and permanent conſtitution. The popes, who in this tempeſt ſubmitted rather to bend than to break, confirmed by treaty the eſtabliſhment and privileges of the ſenate, and expected from time, peace, and religion, the reſtoration of their government. The motives of public and private intereſt might ſometimes draw from the Romans an occaſional and temporary ſacrifice of their claims; and they renewed their oath of allegiance to the ſucceſſor of St. Peter and Conſtantine, the lawful head of the church and the republic[45].

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[44] Our countryman, Roger Hoveden, ſpeaks of the ſingle ſenators, of the *Capuzzi* family, &c. quorum temporibus melius regebatur Roma quam nunc (A. D. 1194) eſt temporibus lvi. ſenatorum (Ducange, Gloſſ. tom. vi. p. 191. SENATORES).

[45] Muratori (diſſert. xlii. tom. iii. p. 785–788.) has publiſhed an original treaty: Concordia inter D. noſtrum papam Clementem III. et ſenatores populi Romani ſuper regalibus et aliis dignitatibus urbis, &c. anno 44° ſenatûs. The ſenate ſpeaks, and ſpeaks with authority: Reddimus ad præſens . . . . habebimus . . . . . dabitis preſbyteria . . . . jurabimus pacem et fidelitatem, &c. A chartula de Tenimentis Tuſculani, dated in the 47th year of the ſame æra, and confirmed decreto ampliſſimi ordinis ſenatûs, acclamatione P. R. publice Capitolio conſiſtentis. It is there we find the difference of ſenatores conſiliarii and ſimple ſenators (Muratori, diſſert. xlii. tom. iii. p. 787–789.)

The office of ſenator.

The union and vigour of a public council was diſſolved in a lawleſs city; and the Romans ſoon adopted a more ſtrong and ſimple mode of administration. They condenſed the name and authority of the ſenate in a ſingle magiſtrate, or two colleagues; and as they were changed at the end of a year, or of ſix months, the greatneſs of the truſt was compenſated by the ſhortneſs of the term. But in this tranſient reign, the ſenators of Rome indulged their avarice and ambition: their juſtice was perverted by the intereſt of their family and faction; and as they puniſhed only their enemies, they were obeyed only by their adherents. Anarchy, no longer tempered by the paſtoral care of their biſhop, admoniſhed the Romans that they were incapable of governing themſelves; and they ſought abroad thoſe bleſſings which they were hopeleſs of finding at home. In the ſame age, and from the ſame motives, moſt of the Italian republics were prompted to embrace a meaſure, which, however ſtrange it may ſeem, was adapted to their ſituation, and productive of the moſt ſalutary effects [46]. They choſe, in ſome foreign but friendly city, an impartial magiſtrate of noble birth and unblemiſhed character, a ſoldier and a ſtateſman, recommended by the voice of fame and his country, to whom they delegated for a time the ſupreme adminiſtration of peace and war. The compact between the governor and the governed was ſealed with oaths and ſubſcriptions; and the duration of his power, the meaſure of his ſtipend, the nature of their mutual obligations, were defined with ſcrupulous preciſion. They ſwore to obey him as their lawful ſuperior: he pledged his faith to unite the indifference of a ſtranger with the zeal of a patriot. At his choice, four or ſix knights and civilians, his aſſeſſors in arms and juſtice, attended the *Podeſta*[47], who maintained at his own expence a decent retinue of ſervants and horſes: his wife, his ſon, his brother, who might bias the affections of the judge, were left behind; during the exerciſe of his office he was not permitted to purchaſe land, to contract an alliance, or even to accept an invitation in the houſe of a citizen; nor could he honourably depart till he had ſatisfied the complaints that might be urged againſt his government.

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[46] Muratori (diſſert. xlv. tom. iv. p. 64—92.) has fully explained this mode of government; and the *Oculus Paſtoralis*, which he has given at the end, is a treatiſe or ſermon on the duties of theſe foreign magiſtrates.

Brancaleone, A. D. 1252—1258.

It was thus, about the middle of the thirteenth century, that the Romans called from Bologna the ſenator Brancaleone, whoſe fame and merit have been reſcued from oblivion by the pen of an Engliſh hiſtorian. A juſt anxiety for his reputation, a clear foreſight of the difficulties of the

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[illegible]

taſk, had engaged him to refuſe the honour of their choice: the ſtatutes of Rome were ſuſpended, and his office prolonged to the term of three years. By the guilty and licentious he was accuſed as cruel; by the clergy he was ſuſpected as partial; but the friends of peace and order applauded the firm and upright magiſtrate by whom thoſe bleſſings were reſtored. No criminals were ſo powerful as to brave, ſo obſcure as to elude, the juſtice of the ſenator. By his ſentence two nobles of the Annibaldi family were executed on a gibbet; and he inexorably demoliſhed, in the city and neighbourhood, one hundred and forty towers, the ſtrong ſhelters of rapine and miſchief. The biſhop, as a ſimple biſhop, was compelled to reſide in his dioceſe; and the ſtandard of Brancaleone was diſplayed in the field with terror and effect. His ſervices were repaid by the ingratitude of a people unworthy of the happineſs which they enjoyed. By the public robbers, whom he had provoked for their ſake, the Romans were excited to depoſe and impriſon their benefactor; nor would his life have been ſpared, if Bologna had not poſſeſſed a pledge for his ſafety. Before his departure, the prudent ſenator had required the exchange of thirty hoſtages of the nobleſt families of Rome; on the news of his danger, and at the prayer of his wife, they were more ſtrictly guarded, and Bologna, in the cauſe of honour, ſuſtained the thunders of a papal interdict. This generous reſiſtance allowed the Romans to compare the preſent with the paſt; and Brancaleone was conducted from the priſon to the Capitol amidſt the acclamations of a repentant people. The remainder of his government was firm and fortunate; and as ſoon as envy was appeaſed by death, his head, encloſed in a precious vaſe, was depoſited on a lofty column of marble[49].

Charles of Anjou, A.D. 1265—1278.

The impotence of reaſon and virtue recommended in Italy a more effectual choice: inſtead of a private citizen, to whom they yielded a voluntary and precarious obedience, the Romans elected for their ſenator ſome prince of independent power, who could defend them from their enemies and themſelves. Charles of Anjou and Provence, the moſt ambitious and warlike monarch of the age, accepted at the ſame time the kingdom of Naples from the pope, and the office of ſenator from the Roman people[50]. As he paſſed through the city, in his road to victory, he received their oath of allegiance, lodged in the Lateran palace, and ſmoothed in a ſhort viſit the harſh features of his deſpotic character. Yet even Charles was expoſed to the inconſtancy of the people, who ſaluted with the ſame acclamations the paſſage of his rival, the unfortunate Conradin; and a powerful avenger, who reigned in the Capitol, alarmed the fears and jealouſy of the popes. The abſolute term of his life was ſuperseded by a renewal every third year; and the enmity of Nicholas the third obliged the Sicilian king to abdicate the government of Rome. In his bull, a perpetual law, the imperious pontiff aſſerts the truth, validity, and uſe, of the donation of Conſtantine, not leſs eſſential to the peace of the city than to the independence of the church; eſtabliſhes the annual election of the ſenator; and formally diſqualifies all emperors, kings, princes, and perſons of an eminent and conſpicuous rank[51]. This prohibitory clauſe was repealed in his own behalf by Martin the fourth, who humbly ſolicited the ſuffrage of the Romans. In the preſence, and by the authority, of the people, two electors conferred, not on the pope, but on the noble and faithful Martin, the dignity of ſenator, and the ſupreme adminiſtration of the republic[52], to hold during his natural life, and to exerciſe at pleaſure by himſelf or his deputies. About fifty years afterwards, the ſame title was granted to the emperor Lewis of Bavaria; and the liberty of Rome was acknowledged by her

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[49] Matthew Paris thus ends his account: Caput vero ipſius Brancaleonis in vaſe pretioſo ſuper marmoream columnam collocatum, in ſignum ſui valoris et probitatis, quaſi reliquias, ſuperſtitioſe nimis et pompoſe ſuſtulerunt. Fuerat enim ſuperborum potentum et malefactorum urbis malleus et extirpator, et populi protector et defenſor, veritatis et juſtitiæ imitator et amator (p. 741.). A biographer of Innocent IV. (Muratori, Script. tom. iii. P. i. p. 591, 592.) draws a leſs favourable portrait of this Ghibeline ſenator.

[50] The election of Charles of Anjou to the office of perpetual ſenator of Rome, is mentioned by the hiſtorians in the viiith volume of the Collection of Muratori, by Nicholas de Jamſilla (p. 592.), the monk of Padua (p. 724.), Sabas Malaſpina (l. ii. c. 9. p. 808.), and Ricordano Maleſpini (c. 177. p. 999.).

Pope Martin IV. A.D. 1281.

The emperor Lewis of Bavaria.

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[51] The high-ſounding bull of Nicholas III. which founds his temporal ſovereignty on the donation of Conſtantine, is ſtill extant; and as it has been inſerted by Boniface VIII. in the Sexte of the Decretals, it muſt be received by the Catholics, or at leaſt by the Papiſts, as a ſacred and perpetual law.

[52] I am indebted to Fleury (Hiſt. Eccléſ. tom. xviii. p. 306) for an extract of this Roman act, which he has taken from the Eccleſiaſtical Annals of Odericus Raynaldus, A.D. 1281, No. 14.

two ſovereigns, who accepted a municipal office in the government of their own metropolis.

Addreſſes of Rome to the emperors.

In the firſt moments of rebellion, when Arnold of Breſcia had inflamed their minds againſt the church, the Romans artfully laboured to conciliate the favour of the empire, and to recommend their merit and ſervices in the cauſe of Cæſar. The ſtyle of their ambaſſadors to Conrad the third and Frederic the firſt, is a mixture of flattery and pride, the tradition and the ignorance of their own hiſtory[53]. After ſome complaint of his ſilence and neglect, they exhort the former of theſe princes to paſs the Alps, and aſſume from their hands the Imperial crown. "We beſeech "your majeſty, not to diſdain the humility of "your ſons and vaſſals, not to liſten to the accu"ſations of our common enemies; who calum"niate the ſenate as hoſtile to your throne, who "ſow the ſeeds of diſcord, that they may reap "the harveſt of deſtruction. The pope and the "*Sicilian* are united in an impious league to oppoſe "*our* liberty and *your* coronation. With the "bleſſing of God, our zeal and courage has "hitherto defeated their attempts. Of their "powerful and factious adherents, more eſpecially "the Frangipani, we have taken by aſſault "the houſes and turrets: ſome of theſe are

Conrad III. A.D. 1144.

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[53] Their epiſtles and ſpeeches are preſerved by Otho biſhop of Friſingen (Fabric. Bibliot. Lat. med. et infim. tom. v. p. 186, 187), perhaps the nobleſt of hiſtorians: he was ſon of Leopold marquis of Auſtria; his mother, Agnes, was daughter of the emperor Henry IV. and he was half-brother and uncle to Conrad III. and Frederic I. He has left, in ſeven books, a Chronicle of the Times; in two, the Geſta Frederici I. the laſt of which is inſerted in the vith volume of Muratori's hiſtorians.

" occupied by our troops, and ſome are levelled " with the ground. The Milvian bridge, which " they had broken, is reſtored and fortified for " your ſafe paſſage; and your army may enter " the city without being annoyed from the caſtle " of St. Angelo. All that we have done, and all " that we deſign, is for your honour and ſervice, " in the loyal hope, that you will ſpeedily appear " in perſon, to vindicate thoſe rights which have " been invaded by the clergy, to revive the dig- " nity of the empire, and to ſurpaſs the fame and " glory of your predeceſſors. May you fix your " reſidence in Rome, the capital of the world: " give laws to Italy, and the Teutonic kingdom; " and imitate the example of Conſtantine and " Juſtinian[54], who, by the vigour of the ſenate " and people, obtained the ſceptre of the earth[55]." But theſe ſplendid and fallacious wiſhes were not cheriſhed by Conrad the Franconian, whoſe eyes were fixed on the Holy Land, and who died without viſiting Rome ſoon after his return from the Holy Land.

Frederic I. A.D. 1155.

His nephew and ſucceſſor Frederic Barbaroſſa, was more ambitious of the Imperial Crown, nor had any of the ſucceſſors of Otho acquired ſuch abſolute ſway over the kingdom of Italy. Surrounded by his eccleſiaſtical and ſecular princes, he gave audience in his camp at Sutri to the ambaſſadors of Rome, who thus addreſſed him in a free and florid oration: "Incline your ear to the "queen of cities; approach with a peaceful and "friendly mind the precincts of Rome, which "has caſt away the yoke of the clergy, and is "impatient to crown her legitimate emperor. "Under your auſpicious influence, may the pri"mitive times be reſtored. Aſſert the prero"gatives of the eternal city, and reduce under "her monarchy, the inſolence of the world. "You are not ignorant, that, in former ages, "by the wiſdom of the ſenate, by the valour and "diſcipline of the equeſtrian order, ſhe extended "her victorious arms to the Eaſt and Weſt, "beyond the Alps, and over the iſlands of the "Ocean. By our ſins, in the abſence of our "princes, the noble inſtitution of the ſenate has "ſunk in oblivion: and with our prudence, our "ſtrength has likewiſe decreaſed. We have re"vived the ſenate, and the equeſtrian order; the "counſels of the one, the arms of the other, will "be devoted to your perſon and the ſervice of "the empire. Do you not hear the language of "the Roman matron? You were a gueſt, I have "adopted you as a citizen; a Tranſalpine ſtranger, "I have elected you for my ſovereign; and "given you myſelf, and all that is mine. Your "firſt and moſt ſacred duty, is to ſwear and "ſubſcribe, that you will ſhed your blood for "the republic; that you will maintain in peace "and juſtice the laws of the city and the charters "of your predeceſſors; and that you will reward

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[54] We deſire (ſaid the ignorant Romans) to reſtore the empire in eum ſtatum, quo fuit tempore Conſtantini et Juſtiniani, qui totum orbem vigore ſenatûs et populi Romani ſuis tenuere manibus.

[55] Otho Friſing. de Geſtis Frederici I. l. i. c. 28, p. 662—664.

Hoſpes eras, civem feci. Advena fuiſti ex Tranſalpinis partibus, principem conſtitui.

"with five thouſand pounds of ſilver the faithful "ſenators who ſhall proclaim your titles in the "Capitol. With the name, aſſume the character, "of Auguſtus." The flowers of Latin rhetoric were not yet exhauſted; but Frederic, impatient of their vanity, interrupted the orators in the high tone of royalty and conqueſt. "Famous indeed "have been the fortitude and wiſdom of the "ancient Romans: but your ſpeech is not ſea"ſoned with wiſdom, and I could wiſh that "fortitude were conſpicuous in your actions. "Like all ſublunary things, Rome has felt the "viciſſitudes of time and fortune. Your nobleſt "families were tranſlated to the Eaſt, to the "royal city of Conſtantine; and the remains of "your ſtrength and freedom have long ſince "been exhauſted by the Greeks and Franks. "Are you deſirous of beholding the ancient glory "of Rome, the gravity of the ſenate, the ſpirit "of the knights, the diſcipline of the camp, the "valour of the legions? you will find them in "the German republic. It is not empire, naked "and alone, the ornaments and virtues of em"pire have likewiſe migrated beyond the Alps "to a more deſerving people[37]: they will be em"ployed in your defence, but they claim your "obedience. You pretend that myſelf or my "predeceſſors have been invited by the Romans: "you miſtake the word, they were not invited; "they were implored. From its foreign and

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[37] Non ceſſit nobis nudum imperium, virtute ſuâ amictum venit, ornamenta ſua ſecum traxit. [illegible] con[illegible] [illegible] of Livy would [illegible] of a Bohemian [illegible] educated in the [illegible] (c. [illegible]).

"domeſtic tyrants, the city was reſcued by "Charlemagne and Otho, whoſe aſhes repoſe in "our country: and their dominion was the price "of your deliverance. Under that dominion "your anceſtors lived and died. I claim by the "right of inheritance and poſſeſſion, and who "ſhall dare to extort you from my hands? Is the "hand of the Franks[58] and Germans enfeebled "by age? Am I vanquiſhed? Am I a captive? "Am I not encompaſſed with the banners of a "potent and invincible army? You impoſe con-"ditions on your maſter; you require oaths; if "the conditions are juſt, an oath is ſuperfluous; "if unjuſt, it is criminal. Can you doubt my "equity? It is extended to the meaneſt of my "ſubjects. Will not my ſword be unſheathed in "the defence of the Capitol? By that ſword the "northern kingdom of Denmark has been re-"ſtored to the Roman empire. You preſcribe "the meaſure and the objects of my bounty, "which flows in a copious but a voluntary ſtream. "All will be given to patient merit; all will be "denied to rude importunity[59]." Neither the emperor nor the ſenate could maintain theſe lofty pretenſions of dominion and liberty. United with the pope, and ſuſpicious of the Romans, Frederic continued his march to the Vatican: his coronation was diſturbed by a ſally from the

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[58] Otho biſhop of Friſingen, who ſurely underſtood the language of the court and diet of Germany, ſpeaks of the Franks in the xiith century as the reigning nation (Proceres Franci, equites Franci, manus Francorum): he adds, however, the epithet of Teutonici.

[59] Otho Friſingen. de Geſtis Frederici I. l. ii. c. 22. p. 720—723. Theſe original and authentic acts I have tranſlated and abridged with freedom, yet with fidelity.

Capitol; and if the numbers and valour of the Germans prevailed in the bloody conflict, he could not ſafely encamp in the preſence of a city of which he ſtyled himſelf the ſovereign. About twelve years afterwards, he beſieged Rome, to ſeat an antipope in the chair of St. Peter; and twelve Piſan gallies were introduced into the Tyber: but the ſenate and people were ſaved by the arts of negociation and the progreſs of diſeaſe; nor did Frederic or his ſucceſſors reiterate the hoſtile attempt. Their laborious reigns were exerciſed by the popes, the cruſades, and the independence of Lombardy and Germany; they courted the alliance of the Romans; and Frederic the ſecond offered in the Capitol the great ſtandard, the *Caroccio* of Milan [60]. After the extinction of the houſe of Swabia, they were baniſhed beyond the Alps; and their laſt coronations betrayed the impotence and poverty of the Teutonic Cæſars [61].

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[60] From the Chronicles of Ricobaldo and Francis Pipin, Muratori (Diſſert. xxvi. tom. ii. p. 492.) has tranſcribed this curious fact with the doggrel verſes that accompanied the gift.

Ave decus orbis ave! victus tibi deſtinor, ave!
Currus ab Auguſto Frederico Cæſare juſto.
Væ Mediolanum! jam ſentis ſpernere vanum
Imperii vires, proprias tibi tollere vires.
Ergo triumphorum urbs potes memor eſſe priorum
Quos tibi mittebant reges qui bella gerebant.

Ne ſi dee tacere (I now uſe the Italian Diſſertations, tom. i. p. 444.) che nell' anno 1727, una copia deſſo Caroccio in marmo dianzi ignoto ſi ſcopri nel Campidoglio, preſſo alle carcere di quel luogo, dove Siſto V. l'avea fatto rinchiudere. Stava eſſo poſto ſopra quatro colonne di marmo fino colla ſequente inſcrizione, &c. to the ſame purpoſe as the old inſcription.

[61] The decline of the Imperial arms and authority in Italy, is related with impartial learning in the Annals of Muratori (tom. x,

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W[illegible]

Under the reign of Adrian, when the empire extended from the Euphrates to the ocean, from mount Atlas to the Grampian hills, a fanciful historian amused the Romans with the picture of their ancient wars. "There was a time," says Florus, "when Tibur and Præneste, our summer "retreats, were the objects of hostile vows in the "Capitol, when we dreaded the shades of the "Arician groves, when we could triumph without "a blush over the nameless villages of the Sabines "and Latins, and even Corioli could afford a "title not unworthy of a victorious general." The pride of his contemporaries was gratified by the contrast of the past and the present: they would have been humbled by the prospect of futurity; by the prediction, that after a thousand years, Rome, despoiled of empire and contracted to her primæval limits, would renew the same hostilities, on the same ground which was then decorated with her villas and gardens. The adjacent territory on either side of the Tyber was always claimed, and sometimes possessed, as the patrimony of St. Peter; but the barons assumed a lawless independence, and the cities too faithfully copied the revolt and discord of the metropolis. In the fourteenth and fifteenth cen-

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turies, the Romans inceſſantly laboured to reduce or deſtroy the contumacious vaſſals of the church and ſenate; and if their headſtrong and ſelfiſh ambition was moderated by the pope, he often encouraged their zeal by the alliance of his ſpiritual arms. Their warfare was that of the firſt conſuls and dictators, who were taken from the plow. They aſſembled in arms at the foot of the Capitol; ſallied from the gates, plundered or burnt the harveſts of their neighbours, engaged in tumultuary conflict, and returned home after an expedition of fifteen or twenty days. Their ſieges were tedious and unſkilful: in the uſe of victory, they indulged the meaner paſſions of jealouſy and revenge; and inſtead of adopting the valour, they trampled on the misfortunes, of their adverſaries. The captives, in their ſhirts, with a rope round their necks, ſolicited their pardon: the fortifications and even the buildings of the rival cities were demoliſhed, and the inhabitants were ſcattered in the adjacent villages. It was thus that the ſeats of the cardinal biſhops, Porto, Oſtia, Albanum, Tuſculum, Præneſte, and Tibur or Tivoli, were ſucceſſively overthrown by the ferocious hoſtility of the Romans[73]. Of theſe[74],

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[73] Ne a feritate Romanorum, ſicut fuerant Hoſtienſes, Portuenſes, Tuſculanenſes, Albanenſes, Labicenſes, et nuper Tiburtini deſtruerentur (Matthew Paris, p. 757). Theſe events are marked in the Annals and Index (the xviiith volume) of Muratori.

[74] For the ſtate or ruin of theſe ſuburban cities, the banks of the Tyber, &c. ſee the lively picture of the P. Labat (Voyage en Eſpagne et en Italie), who had long reſided in the neighbourhood of Rome; and the more accurate deſcription of which P. Eſchinard (Roma, 1750, in octavo) has added to the topographical map of Cingolani.

Porto and Oſtia, the two keys of the Tyber, are ſtill vacant and deſolate: the marſhy and unwholeſome banks are peopled with herds of buffalos, and the river is loſt to every purpoſe of navigation and trade. The hills which afford a ſhady retirement from the autumnal heats, have again ſmiled with the bleſſings of peace: Freſcati has ariſen near the ruins of Tuſculum: Tibur or Tivoli has reſumed the honours of a city[65], and the meaner towns of Albano and Paleſtrina are decorated with the villas of the cardinals and princes of Rome. In the work of deſtruction, the ambition of the Romans was often checked and repulſed by the neighbouring cities and their allies: in the firſt ſiege of Tibur, they were driven from their camp; and the battles of Tuſculum[66] and Viterbo[67] might be compared in their relative ſtate to the memorable fields of Thraſymene and Cannæ. In the firſt of theſe petty wars, thirty thouſand Romans were overthrown by a thouſand German horſe, whom Frederic Barbaroſſa had detached to the relief of Tuſculum; and if we number the ſlain at three, the priſoners at two, thouſand, we ſhall embrace the moſt authentic and moderate account. Sixty-eight years after-

Battle of Tuſculum, A.D. 1167.

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[65] [illegible] the Roman [illegible] and poverty of [illegible]

[66] [illegible] date the [illegible] which [illegible]

[67] [illegible] W[illegible]

Battle of Viterbo, A.D. 1234.

ward they marched againſt Viterbo in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate with the whole force of the city; by a rare coalition, the Teutonic eagle was blended, in the adverſe banners, with the keys of St. Peter; and the pope's auxiliaries were commanded by a count of Tholouſe and a biſhop of Wincheſter. The Romans were diſcomfited with ſhame and ſlaughter; but the Engliſh prelate muſt have indulged the vanity of a pilgrim, if he multiplied their numbers to one hundred, and their loſs in the field to thirty, thouſand men. Had the policy of the ſenate and the diſcipline of the legions been reſtored with the Capitol, the divided condition of Italy would have offered the faireſt opportunity of a ſecond conqueſt. But in arms, the modern Romans were not *above*, and in arts, they were far *below*, the common level of the neighbouring republics. Nor was their warlike ſpirit of any long continuance; after ſome irregular ſallies, they ſubſided in the national apathy, in the neglect of military inſtitutions, and in the diſgraceful and dangerous uſe of foreign mercenaries.

The election of the popes.

Ambition is a weed of quick and early vegetation in the vineyard of Chriſt. Under the firſt Chriſtian princes, the chair of St. Peter was diſputed by the votes, the venality, the violence of a popular election: the ſanctuaries of Rome were polluted with blood; and from the third to the twelfth century, the church was diſtracted by the miſchief of frequent ſchiſms. As long as the final appeal was determined by the civil magiſtrate, theſe miſchiefs were tranſient and local: the merits were tried by equity or favour; nor could the unſucceſſ-

ful

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ful competitor long diſturb the triumph of his rival. But after the emperors had been diveſted of their prerogatives, after a maxim had been eſtabliſhed, that the vicar of Chriſt is amenable to no earthly tribunal, each vacancy of the holy ſee might involve Chriſtendom in controverſy and war. The claims of the cardinals and inferior clergy, of the nobles and people, were vague and litigious: the freedom of choice was over-ruled by the tumults of a city that no longer owned or obeyed a ſuperior. On the deceaſe of a pope, two factions proceeded in different churches to a double election: the number and weight of votes, the priority of time, the merit of the candidates, might balance each other: the most reſpectable of the clergy were divided; and the diſtant [illegible] [illegible] political motive [illegible] hoſtile pontiff; [illegible] reduced to ſuffer [illegible] who were not awed by [illegible] the ſupport of his [illegible] by avarice or [illegible] the college of cardinals [69]. The three orders of biſhops, prieſts, and deacons, were aſſimilated to each other by this important privilege: the parochial clergy of Rome obtained the firſt rank in the hierarchy; they were indifferently choſen among the nations of Chriſtendom; and the poſſeſſion of the richeſt benefices, of the moſt important biſhoprics, was not incompatible with their title and office. The ſenators of the Catholic church, the coadjutors and legates of the ſupreme pontiff, were robed in purple, the ſymbol of martyrdom or royalty; they claimed a proud equality with kings; and their dignity was enhanced by the ſmallneſs of their number, which, till the reign of Leo the Tenth, ſeldom exceeded twenty, or twenty-five, perſons. By this wiſe regulation, all doubt and ſcandal were removed, and the root of ſchiſm was ſo effectually deſtroyed, that in a period of ſix hundred years a double choice has only once divided the unity of the ſacred college. But as the concurrence of the [illegible]

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[69] [illegible] of Chriſt.

gory X.
A. D.
1274.

the future abuſe; and his bull, after ſome oppoſition, has been conſecrated in the code of the canon law [70]. Nine days are allowed for the obſequies of the deceaſed pope, and the arrival of the abſent cardinals: on the tenth, they are impriſoned, each with one domeſtic, in a common apartment or *conclave*, without any ſeparation of walls or curtains; a ſmall window is reſerved for the introduction of neceſſaries; but the door is locked on both ſides, and guarded by the magiſtrates of the city, to ſeclude them from all correſpondence with the world. If the election be not conſummated in three days, the luxury of their tables is contracted to a ſingle diſh at dinner and ſupper; and after the eighth day, they are reduced to a ſcanty allowance of bread, water, and wine. During the vacancy of the holy ſee, the cardinals are prohibited from touching the revenues, or aſſuming, unleſs in ſome rare emergency, the government, of the church: all agreements and promiſes among the electors are formally annulled; and their integrity is fortified by their ſolemn oath and the prayers of the Catholics. Some articles of inconvenient or ſuperfluous rigour have been gradually relaxed, but the principle of confinement is vigorous and entire: they are ſtill urged, by the perſonal motives of health and freedom, to accelerate the moment of their deliverance; and the improvement of ballot or ſecret votes has wrapt the ſtruggles of the conclave[71] in the ſilky veil of charity and politeneſs[72]. By theſe inſtitutions, the Romans were excluded from the election of their prince and biſhop; and in the fever of wild and precarious liberty, they ſeemed inſenſible of the loſs of this ineſtimable privilege. The emperor Lewis of Bavaria revived the example of the great Otho. After ſome negotiation with the magiſtrates, the Roman people was aſſembled[73] in the ſquare before St. Peter's; the pope of Avignon, John the twenty-ſecond, was depoſed; the choice of his ſucceſſor was ratified by their conſent and applauſe. They freely voted for a new law, that their biſhop ſhould never be abſent more than three months in the year, and two days journey

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[70] See the bull of Gregory X. approbante ſacro concilio, in the Sexte of the Canon Law (l. i. tit. 6. c. 3.), a ſupplement to the Decretals, which Boniface VIII. promulgated at Rome in 1298, and addreſſed to all the univerſities of Europe.

A. D.
1328.

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[71] The genius of cardinal de Retz had a right to paint a conclave (of 1665), in which he was a ſpectator and an actor (Memoirs, tom. iv. p. 15—57.); but I am at a loſs to appreciate the knowledge or authority of an anonymous Italian, whoſe hiſtory (Conclavi de Pontifici Romani, in 4to, 1667) has been continued ſince the reign of Alexander VII. The accidental form of the work furniſhes a leſſon, though not an antidote, to ambition. From a labyrinth of intrigues, we emerge to the adoration of the ſucceſsful candidate: but the next page opens with his funeral.

[72] The expreſſions of cardinal de Retz are poſitive and pictureſque: On y vécut toujours enſemble avec le même reſpect, et la même civilité que l'on obſerve dans le cabinet des rois, avec la même politeſſe qu'on avoit dans la cour de Henri III. avec la même familiarité que l'on voit dans les colleges; avec la même modeſtie, qui ſe remarque dans les noviciats; et avec la même charité, du moins en apparence, qui pourroit être entre des freres parfaitement unis.

[73] Rechieſti per bando (ſays John Villani) ſanatori di Roma, e 52 del popolo, et capitani de' 25. e conſoli (conſoli?), et 13 buone huomini, uno per rione. Our knowledge is too imperfect to pronounce, how much of this conſtitution was temporary, and how much ordinary and permanent. Yet it is faintly illuſtrated by the ancient ſtatutes of Rome.

from

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from the city; and that if he neglected to return on the third summons, the public servant should be degraded and dismissed [74]. But Lewis forgot his own debility and the prejudices of the times: beyond the precincts of a German camp, his useless phantom was rejected; the Romans despised their own workmanship; the antipope implored the mercy of his lawful sovereign [75]; and the exclusive right of the cardinals was more firmly established by this unseasonable attack.

Absence of the popes from Rome.

Had the election been always held in the Vatican, the rights of the senate and people would not have been violated with impunity. But the Romans forgot, and were forgotten, in the absence of the successors of Gregory the seventh, who did not keep as a divine precept their ordinary residence in the city and diocese. The cares of that diocese were less important than the government of the universal church; nor could the popes delight in a city in which their authority was always opposed and their person was often endangered. From the persecution of the emperors, and the wars of Italy, they escaped beyond the Alps into the hospitable bosom of France; from the factions of Rome they prudently withdrew to live

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and die in the more tranquil ſtations of Anagni, Perugia, Viterbo, and the adjacent cities. When the flock was offended or impoveriſhed by the abſence of the ſhepherd, they were recalled by a ſtern admonition, that St. Peter had fixed his chair, not in an obſcure village, but in the capital of the world; by a ferocious menace that the Romans would march in arms to deſtroy the place and people that ſhould dare to afford them a retreat. They returned with timorous obedience; and were ſaluted with the account of an heavy debt, of all the loſſes which their deſertion had occaſioned, the hire of lodgings, the ſale of proviſions, and the various expences of ſervants and ſtrangers who attended the court[76]. After a ſhort interval of peace, and perhaps of authority, they were again baniſhed by new tumults, and again ſummoned by the imperious or reſpectful invitation of the ſenate. In theſe occaſional retreats, the exiles and fugitives of the Vatican were ſeldom long, or far, diſtant from the metropolis; but in the beginning of the fourteenth century the apoſtolic throne was tranſported, as it might ſeem for ever, from the Tyber to the Rhône; and the cauſe of the tranſmigration may be deduced from

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[76] Romani autem non valentes nec volentes ultra ſuam celare cupiditatem graviſſimam, contra papam movere cœperunt quæſtionem, exigentes ab eo urgentiſſime omnia quæ ſubierant per ejus abſentiam damna et jacturas, videlicet in hoſpitiis locandis, in mercimoniis, in uſuris, in redditibus, in proviſionibus, et in aliis modis innumerabilibus. Quòd cum audiſſet papa, præcordialiter ingemuit, et ſe comperiens muſcipulatum, &c. Matt. Paris, p. 757. For the ordinary hiſtory of the popes, their life and death, their reſidence and abſence, it is enough to refer to the eccleſiaſtical annaliſts, Spondanus and Fleury.

Boniface VIII. A.D. 1294—1303.

the furious conteſt between Boniface the eighth and the king of France[77]. The ſpiritual arms of excommunication and interdict were repulſed by the union of the three eſtates, and the privileges of the Gallican church; but the pope was not againſt the carnal weapons which Philip the Fair had courage to employ. As the pope reſided at Anagni, without the ſuſpicion of danger, his palace and perſon were aſſaulted by three hundred horſe, who had been ſecretly levied by William of Nogaret, a French miniſter, and Sciarra Colonna, of a noble but hoſtile family of Rome. The cardinals fled; the inhabitants of Anagni were ſeduced from their allegiance and gratitude; but the dauntleſs Boniface, unarmed and alone, ſeated himſelf in his chair, and awaited, like the conſcript fathers of old, the ſwords of the Gauls. Nogaret, a foreign adverſary, was content to execute the orders of his maſter: by the domeſtic enmity of Colonna, he was inſulted with words and blows; and during a confinement of three days his life was threatened by the hardſhips which they inflicted on the obſtinacy which they provoked. Their ſtrange delay gave time and courage to the adherents of the church, who reſcued him from ſacrilegious violence; but his imperious ſoul was wounded in a vital part; and Boniface expired at Rome in a frenzy of rage and revenge.

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[77] [illegible]

His memory is ſtained with the glaring vices of avarice and pride; nor has the courage of a martyr promoted this eccleſiaſtical champion to the honours of a ſaint; a magnanimous ſinner (ſay the chronicles of the times), who entered like a fox, reigned like a lion, and died like a dog. He was ſucceeded by Benedict the eleventh, the mildeſt of mankind. Yet he excommunicated the impious emiſſaries of Philip, and devoted the city and people of Anagni by a tremendous curſe, whoſe effects are ſtill viſible to the eyes of ſuperſtition[78].

Tranſlation of the holy ſee to Avignon, A. D. 1309.

After his deceaſe, the tedious and equal ſuſpenſe of the conclave was fixed by the dexterity of the French faction. A ſpecious offer was made and accepted, that, in the term of forty days, they would elect one of the three candidates who ſhould be named by their opponents. The archbiſhop of Bourdeaux, a furious enemy of his king and country, was the firſt on the liſt; but his ambition was known; and his conſcience obeyed the calls of fortune and the commands of a benefactor, who had been informed by a ſwift meſſenger that the choice of a pope was now in his hands. The terms were regulated in a private interview; and with ſuch ſpeed and ſecreſy was the buſineſs tranſacted, that the unanimous conclave applauded the elevation of Clement the fifth[79]. The cardinals of both parties were ſoon aſtoniſhed by a ſummons to attend him beyond the Alps; from whence, as they ſoon diſcovered, they muſt never hope to return. He was engaged, by promiſe and affection, to prefer the reſidence of France; and, after dragging his court through Poitou and Gaſcogny, and devouring, by his expence, the cities and convents on the road, he finally repoſed at Avignon[80], which flouriſhed above ſeventy years[81] the ſeat of the Roman pontiff and the metropolis of Chriſtendom. By land, by ſea, by the Rhone, the poſition of Avignon was on all ſides acceſſible; the ſouthern provinces of France do not yield to Italy itſelf; new palaces aroſe for the accommodation of the pope and cardinals; and the arts of luxury were ſoon attracted by the treaſures of the church. They were already poſſeſſed of the adjacent territory, the Venaiſſin county[82], a populous

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[78] It is difficult to know whether Labat (tom. iv. p. 53—57.) be in jeſt or in earneſt, when he ſuppoſes that Anagni ſtill feels the weight of this curſe, and that the corn-fields, or vineyards, or olive-trees, are annually blaſted by nature, the obſequious handmaid of the popes.

[79] See in the Chronicle of Giovanni Villani (l. viii. c. 63, 64. 80. in Muratori, tom. xiii.) the impriſonment of Boniface VIII. and the election of Clement V. the laſt of which, like moſt anecdotes, is embarraſſed with ſome difficulties.

[illegible]

pulous and fertile ſpot ; and the ſovereignty of Avignon was afterwards purchaſed from the youth and diſtreſs of Jane, the firſt queen of Naples and counteſs of Provence, for the inadequate price of fourſcore thouſand florins [83]. Under the ſhadow of the French monarchy, amidſt an obedient people, the popes enjoyed an honourable and tranquil ſtate, to which they long had been ſtrangers: but Italy deplored their abſence ; and Rome, in ſolitude and poverty, might repent of the ungovernable freedom which had driven from the Vatican the ſucceſſor of St. Peter. Her repentance was tardy and fruitleſs ; after the death of the old members, the ſacred college was filled with French cardinals [84], who beheld Rome and Italy with abhorrence and contempt, and perpetuated a ſeries of national, and even provincial, popes, attached by the moſt indiſſoluble ties to their native country.

Raymond had given them a pretence of ſeizure, and they derived ſome obſcure claim from the xith century to ſome lands citra Rhodanum (Valeſii Notitia Galliarum, p. 459. 610. Longuerue, Deſcription de la France, tom. i. p. 376—381).

[83] If a poſſeſſion of four centuries were not itſelf a title, ſuch objections might annul the bargain; but the purchaſe-money muſt be refunded, for indeed it was paid. Civitatem Avenionem emit . . . per ejuſmodi venditionem pecuniâ redundantes, &c. (iida Vita Clement. VI. in Baluz. tom. i. p. 272. Muratori, Script. tom. iii. P. ii. p. 565). The only temptation for Jane and her ſecond huſband was ready money, and without it they could not have returned to the throne of Naples.

[84] Clement V. immediately promoted ten cardinals, nine French and one Engliſh (Vita ivta, p. 63. et Baluz. p. 625, &c.). In 1331, the pope refuſed two candidates recommended by the king of France, quod xx Cardinales, de quibus xvii de regno Franciæ originem traxiſſe noſcuntur in memorato collegio exiſtant (Thomaſſin, Diſcipline de l'Egliſe, tom. i. p. 1281).

Inſtitution of the jubilee, or holy year, A.D. 1300.

The progreſs of induſtry had produced and enriched the Italian republics: the æra of their liberty is the moſt flouriſhing period of population and agriculture, of manufactures and commerce; and their mechanic labours were gradually refined into the arts of elegance and genius. But the poſition of Rome was leſs favourable, the territory leſs fruitful; the character of the inhabitants was debaſed by indolence and elated by pride; and they fondly conceived that the tribute of ſubjects muſt for ever nouriſh the metropolis of the church and empire. This prejudice was encouraged in ſome degree by the reſort of pilgrims to the ſhrines of the apoſtles; and the laſt legacy of the popes, the inſtitution of the HOLY YEAR[85], was not leſs beneficial to the people than to the clergy. Since the loſs of Paleſtine, the gift of plenary indulgences, which had been applied to the cruſades, remained without an object; and the moſt valuable treaſure of the church was ſequeſtered above eight years from public circulation. A new channel was opened by the diligence of Boniface the eighth, who reconciled the vices of ambition and avarice; and the pope had ſufficient learning to recollect and revive the ſecular games, which were celebrated in Rome at the concluſion of every century. To ſound without danger the depth of popular credulity, a ſermon was ſeaſonably pronounced, a report was artfully ſcattered, ſome aged witneſſes were produced; and on the firſt of January of the year thirteen hundred, the church of St. Peter was crowded with the faithful, who demanded the *cuſtomary* indulgence of the holy time. The pontiff, who watched and irritated their devout impatience, was ſoon perſuaded by ancient teſtimony of the juſtice of their claim; and he proclaimed a plenary abſolution to all Catholics who, in the courſe of that year, and at every ſimilar period, ſhould reſpectfully viſit the apoſtolic churches of St. Peter and St. Paul. The welcome ſound was propagated through Chriſtendom; and at firſt from the neareſt provinces of Italy, and at length from the remote kingdoms of Hungary and Britain, the highways were thronged with a ſwarm of pilgrims who ſought to expiate their ſins in a journey, however coſtly or laborious, which was exempt from the perils of military ſervice. All exceptions of rank or ſex, of age or infirmity, were forgotten in the common tranſport: and in the ſtreets and churches many perſons were trampled to death by the eagerneſs of devotion. The calculation of their numbers could not be eaſy nor accurate; and they have probably been magnified by a dextrous clergy, well appriſed of the contagion of example: yet we are aſſured by a judicious hiſtorian, who aſſiſted at the ceremony, that Rome was never repleniſhed with leſs than two hundred thouſand ſtrangers; and another ſpectator has fixed at two millions the total concourſe of the year. A trifling oblation from each individual would accumulate a royal treaſure; and two prieſts ſtood night and

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[85] Our primitive account is from cardinal James Caietan (Maxima Bibliot. Patrum, tom. xxv.); and I am at a loss to determine whether the nephew of Boniface VIII. be a fool or a knave: the uncle is a much clearer character.

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day, with rakes in their hands, to collect without counting, the heaps of gold and ſilver that were poured on the altar of St. Paul[66]. It was fortunately a ſeaſon of peace and plenty; and if forage was ſcarce, if inns and lodgings were extravagantly dear, an inexhauſtible ſupply of bread and wine, of meat and fiſh, was provided by the policy of Boniface and the venal hoſpitality of the Romans. From a city without trade or induſtry, all caſual riches will ſpeedily evaporate: but the avarice and envy of the next generation ſolicited Clement the Sixth[67] to anticipate the diſtant period of the century. The gracious pontiff complied with their wiſhes; afforded Rome this poor conſolation for his loſs; and juſtified the change by the name and practice of the Moſaic Jubilee[68]. His ſummons was obeyed; and the number, zeal, and liberality, of the pilgrims did not yield to the primitive feſtival. But they encountered the triple ſcourge of war, peſtilence, and famine: many wives and virgins were violated in the caſtles of Italy; and many ſtrangers were pillaged or murdered

[illegible]

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[66] [illegible]

[67] [illegible]

[68] [illegible]

[illegible]

dered by the ſavage Romans, no longer moderated by the preſence of their biſhop[59]. To the impatience of the popes we may aſcribe the ſucceſſive reduction to fifty, thirty-three, and twenty-five years; although the ſecond of theſe terms is commenſurate with the life of Chriſt. The profuſion of indulgences, the revolt of the Proteſtants, and the decline of ſuperſtition, have much diminiſhed the value of the jubilee; yet even the nineteenth and laſt feſtival was a year of pleaſure and profit to the Romans; and a philoſophic ſmile will not diſturb the triumph of the prieſt or the happineſs of the people[60].

The nobles or barons of Rome.

In the beginning of the eleventh century, Italy was expoſed to the feudal tyranny, alike oppreſſive to the ſovereign and the people. The rights of human nature were vindicated by her numerous republics, who ſoon extended their liberty and dominion from the city to the adjacent country. The ſword of the nobles was broken; their ſlaves were enfranchiſed; their caſtles were demoliſhed; they aſſumed the habits of ſociety and obedience; their ambition was confined to municipal honours, and in the proudeſt ariſtocracy of Venice or Genoa, each patrician was ſubject to the laws[91]. But the feeble and diſorderly government of Rome was unequal to the taſk of curbing her rebellious ſons, who ſcorned the authority of the magiſtrate within and without the walls. It was no longer a civil contention between the nobles and plebeians for the government of the ſtate; the barons aſſerted in arms their perſonal independence; their palaces and caſtles were fortified againſt a ſiege; and their private quarrels were maintained by the numbers of their vaſſals and retainers. In origin and affection, they were aliens to their country[92]: and a genuine Roman, could ſuch have been produced, might have renounced theſe haughty ſtrangers, who diſdained the appellation of citizens, and proudly ſtyled themſelves the princes, of Rome[93]. After a dark ſeries of revolutions, all records of pedigree were loſt; the diſtinction of ſurnames was aboliſhed; the blood of the nations was mingled in a thouſand channels; and the Goths and Lombards, the Greeks and Franks, the Germans and Normans, had obtained the faireſt poſſeſſions by royal bounty or the prerogative of valour. Theſe examples might be readily preſumed: but the elevation of an Hebrew race to the rank of ſenators and conſuls, is an event without a parallel in the long captivity of theſe miſerable exiles[94]. In the time of Leo the ninth, a wealthy and learned Jew was converted to chriſtianity; and honoured at his baptiſm with the name of his godfather, the reigning pope. The zeal and courage of Peter the ſon of Leo were ſignaliſed in the cauſe of Gregory the ſeventh, who entruſted his faithful adherent with the government of Adrian's mole, the tower of Creſcentius, or, as it is now called, the caſtle of St. Angelo. Both the father and the ſon were the parents of a numerous progeny; their riches, the fruits of uſury, were ſhared with the nobleſt families of the city; and ſo extenſive was their alliance, that the grandſon of the proſelyte was exalted by the weight of his kindred to the throne of St. Peter. A majority of the clergy and people ſupported his cauſe; he reigned ſeveral years in the Vatican, and it is only the eloquence of St. Bernard, and the final triumph of Innocent the ſecond, that has branded Anacletus with the epithet of antipope. After his defeat and death, the poſterity of Leo is no longer conſpicuous; and none will be found of the modern nobles am-

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[59] See the Chronicle of Matteo Villani (l. i. c. 56.) in the xivth vol. of Muratori, and the Memoires ſur la Vie de Petrarque, tom. iii. p. 75–89.

[60] The ſubject is exhauſted by M. Chais, a French miniſter at the Hague, in his Lettres hiſtoriques et dogmatiques, ſur les Jubiles et les Indulgences; la Haye, 1751, 3 vols. in 12mo.; an elaborate and pleaſing work, had not the author preferred the character of a polemic to that of a philoſopher.

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[91] Muratori (Diſſert. xlvii.) alleges the Annals of Florence, Padua, Genoa, &c. the analogy of the reſt, the evidence of Otho of Friſingen (de Geſt. Fred. I. l. ii. c. 13.), and the ſubmiſſion of the marquis of Eſte.

[92] As early as the year 824, the emperor Lothaire I. found it expedient to interrogate the Roman people, to learn from each individual, by what national law he choſe to be governed (Muratori, Diſſertat. xxii.).

[93] Petrarch attacks theſe foreigners, the tyrants of Rome, in a declamation or epiſtle, full of bold truths and abſurd pedantry, in which he applies the maxims, and even prejudices, of the old republic to the ſtate of the xivth century (Mémoires, tom. iii. p. 157—169).

Family of Leo the Jew.

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[94] The origin and adventures of this Jewiſh family are noticed by Pagi (Critica, tom. iv. p. 435. A. D. 1124, No. 3, 4.), who draws his information from the Chronographus Maurigniacenſis, and Arnulphus Sagienſis de Schiſmate (in Muratori, Script. Ital. tom. iii. P. i. p. 423—432). The fact muſt in ſome degree be true; yet I could wiſh that it had been coolly related, before it was turned into a reproach againſt the antipope.

bitious of declining Rome a Jewish [illegible]. It is not my deſign to enumerate the Roman families, which have failed at different periods, or thoſe which are continued in different degrees of ſplendor to the preſent time. The old conſular line of the *Frangipani* diſcover their name in the generous act of breaking or dividing bread in a time of famine; and ſuch benevolence is more truly glorious than to have encloſed, with their allies the *Corſi*, a ſpacious quarter of the city in the chains of their fortifications: the *Savelli*, as it ſhould ſeem a Sabine race, have maintained their original dignity: the obſolete ſurname of the *Capizucchi* is inſcribed on the coins of the firſt ſenators: the *Conti* preſerve the honour, without the eſtate, of the counts of Signia; and the *Annibaldi* muſt have been very ignorant, or very modeſt, if they had not deſcended from the Carthaginian hero.

The Colonna.

But among, perhaps above, the peers and princes of the city, I diſtinguiſh the rival houſes

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[illegible]

of COLONNA and URSINI, whoſe private ſtory is an eſſential part of the annals of modern Rome. I. The name and arms of Colonna [97] have been the theme of much doubtful etymology; nor have the orators and antiquarians overlooked either Trajan's pillar, or the columns of Hercules, or the pillar of Chriſt's flagellation, or the luminous column that guided the Iſraelites in the deſert. Their firſt hiſtorical appearance in the year eleven hundred and four, atteſts the power and antiquity, while it explains the ſimple meaning, of the name. By the uſurpation of Cavæ, the Colonna provoked the arms of Paſchal the ſecond; but they lawfully held in the Campagna of Rome, the hereditary fiefs of Zagarola and Colonna; and the latter of theſe towns was probably adorned with ſome lofty pillar, the relic of a villa or temple [98]. They likewiſe poſſeſſed one moiety of the neighbouring city of Tuſculum; a ſtrong preſumption of their deſcent from the counts

> Et quibus devota domus præſtantis ab *Urſa*
> Eccleſiæ, vultumque gerens demiſſius altum
> Feſta *Columna* jocis, necnon *Sabella* mitis;
> Stephanides ſenior, *Comites*, *Annibalica* proles,
> Præfectuſque urbis magnum ſine viribus nomen.
>
> (l. ii. c. 5. 100. p. 647, 648.)

The ancient ſtatutes of Rome (l. iii. c. 59. p. 174, 175.) diſtinguiſh eleven families of barons, who are obliged to ſwear in concilio communi, before the ſenator, that they would not harbour or protect any malefactors, outlaws, &c.—a feeble ſecurity!

[97] It is a pity that the Colonna themſelves have not favoured the world with a complete and critical hiſtory of their illuſtrious houſe. I adhere to Muratori (Diſſert. xlii. tom. iii. p. 647, 648.).

[98] Pandulph. Piſan. in Vit. Paſchal. II. in Muratori, Script. Ital. tom. iii. P. i. p. 335. The family has ſtill great poſſeſſions in the Campagna of Rome; but they have alienated to the Roſpiglioſi this original fief of Colonna (Eſchinard, p. 258, 259.).

of Tuſculum, who in the tenth century were the tyrants of the apoſtolic ſee. According to their own and the public opinion, the primitive and remote ſource was derived from the banks of the Rhine [99]; and the ſovereigns of Germany were not aſhamed of a real or fabulous affinity with a noble race, which in the revolutions of ſeven hundred years has been often illuſtrated by merit, and always by fortune [100]. About the end of the thirteenth century, the moſt powerful branch was compoſed of an uncle and ſix brothers, all conſpicuous in arms, or in the honours of the church. Of theſe, Peter was elected ſenator of Rome, introduced to the Capitol in a triumphant car, and hailed in ſome vain acclamations with the title of Cæſar; while John and Stephen were declared marquis of Ancona and count of Romagna, by Nicholas the fourth, a patron ſo partial to their family, that he has been delineated in ſatirical portraits, impriſoned as it were in a hollow pillar [101]. After his deceaſe, their haughty behaviour provoked the diſpleaſure of the moſt implacable of mankind. The two cardinals, the uncle and the nephew, denied the election of Boniface the eighth; and the Colonna were oppreſſed for a moment by his temporal and ſpiritual arms[102]. He proclaimed a cruſade againſt his perſonal enemies; their eſtates were confiſcated; their fortreſſes on either ſide of the Tyber were beſieged by the troops of St. Peter and thoſe of the rival nobles; and after the ruin of Paleſtrina or Præneſte, their principal ſeat, the ground was marked with a ploughſhare, the emblem of perpetual deſolation. Degraded, baniſhed, proſcribed, the ſix brothers, in diſguiſe and danger, wandered over Europe without renouncing the hope of deliverance and revenge. In this double hope, the French court was their ſureſt aſylum: they prompted and directed the enterpriſe of Philip; and I ſhould praiſe their magnanimity, had they reſpected the misfortune and courage of the captive tyrant. His civil acts were annulled by the Roman people, who reſtored the honours and poſſeſſions of the Colonna; and ſome eſtimate may be formed of their wealth by their loſſes, of their loſſes by the damages of one hundred thouſand gold florins which were granted them againſt the accomplices and heirs of the deceaſed pope. All the ſpiritual cenſures and diſqualifications were aboliſhed[103] by his prudent ſucceſſors; and the fortune of the houſe was more firmly eſtabliſhed by this tranſient hurricane. The boldneſs of Sciarra Colonna was ſignaliſed in the captivity of Boniface; and long afterwards in the coronation of Lewis of Bavaria; and by the gratitude of the emperor, the pillar in their arms was encircled with a royal crown. But the firſt of the family in fame and merit was the elder Stephen, whom Petrarch loved and eſteemed as an hero ſuperior to his own times, and not unworthy of ancient Rome. Perſecution and exile diſplayed to the nations his abilities in peace and war; in his diſtreſs, he was an object, not of pity, but of reverence; the aſpect of danger provoked him to avow his name and country: and when he was aſked, "where is now your fortreſs?" he laid his hand on his heart, and anſwered, "here." He ſupported with the ſame virtue the return of proſperity; and, till the ruin of his declining age, the anceſtors, the character, and the children of Stephen Colonna, exalted his dignity in the Roman republic, and at the court of Avignon. 2. Urſini, II. The Urſini migrated from Spoleto[104]; the ſons of Urſus, as they are ſtyled in the twelfth century, from ſome eminent perſon who is only known as the father of their race. But they were ſoon diſtinguiſhed among the nobles of Rome, by the number and bravery of their kinſmen, the ſtrength of their towers, the honours of the ſenate and ſacred college, and the elevation of two popes, Celeſtin the third and Nicholas the third, of their name and lineage[105]. Their riches may be accuſed as an early abuſe of nepotiſm: the eſtates of St. Peter were alienated in their favour by the liberal Celeſtin[106]; and Nicholas was ambitious for their ſake to ſolicit the alliance of monarchs; to found new kingdoms in Lombardy and Tuſcany; and to inveſt them with the perpetual office of ſenators of Rome. All

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[99] Te longinqua dedit tellus et paſcua Rheni,

ſays Petrarch; and, in 1417, a duke of Guelders and Juliers acknowledges (Lenfant, Hiſt. du Concile de Conſtance, tom. ii. p. 539.) his deſcent from the anceſtors of Martin V. (Otho Colonna): but the royal author of the Memoirs of Brandenburg obſerves, that the ſceptre in his arms has been confounded with the column. To maintain the Roman origin of the Colonna, it was ingeniouſly ſuppoſed (Diario di Monaldeſchi, in the Script. Ital. tom. xii. p. 533.), that a couſin of the emperor Nero eſcaped from the city, and founded Mentz in Germany.

[100] I cannot overlook the Roman triumph or ovation of Marco Antonio Colonna, who had commanded the pope's galleys at the naval victory of Lepanto (Thuanus, Hiſt. l. 7. tom. iii. p. 55, 56. Muret. Oratio x. Opp. tom. i. p. 180—190.).

[101] Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. x. p. 216. 220.

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[102] Petrarch's attachment to the Colonna, has authoriſed the abbé de Sade to expatiate on the ſtate of the family in the fourteenth century, the perſecution of Boniface VIII. the character of Stephen and his ſons, their quarrels with the Urſini, &c. (Memoires ſur Petrarque, tom. i. p. 98—110. 146—148. 174—176. 222—230. 275—280.) His criticiſm often rectifies the hearſay ſtories of Villani, and the errors of the leſs diligent moderns. I underſtand the branch of Stephen to be now extinct.

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[103] Alexander III. had declared the Colonna who adhered to the emperor Frederic I. incapable of holding any eccleſiaſtical benefice (Villani, l. v. c. 1.); and the laſt ſtains of annual excommunication were purified by Sixtus V. (Vita di Siſto V. tom. iii. p. 416.). Treaſon, ſacrilege, and proſcription are often the beſt titles of ancient nobility.

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[104] ——Vallis te proxima miſit
Appenninigenæ quâ prata virentia ſylvæ
Spoletana metunt armenta greges protervi.

Monaldeſchi (tom. xii. Script. Ital. p. 533.) gives the Urſini a French origin, which may be remotely true.

[105] In the metrical life of Celeſtin V. by the cardinal of St. George (Muratori, tom. iii. P. i. p. 613, &c.), we find a luminous, and not inelegant paſſage (l. i. c. 3. p. 203, &c.):

——genuit quem nobilis Urſæ *(Urſi?)*
Progenies, Romana domus, veterataque magnis
Faſcibus in clero, pompaſque experta ſenatûs,
Bellorumque manû grandi ſtipata parentum
Cardineos apices necnon faſtigia dudum
Papatûs *iterata* tenens.

Muratori (Diſſert. xlii. tom. iii. p. .) obſerves, that the firſt Urſini pontificate of Celeſtine III. was unknown: he is inclined to read *Urſi* progenies.

[106] Filii Urſi, quondam Cœleſtini papæ nepotes, de bonis eccleſiæ Romanæ ditati (Vit. Innocent. III. in Muratori, Script. tom. iii. P. i.). The partial prodigality of Nicholas III. is more conſpicuous in Villani and Muratori. Yet the Urſini would diſdain the nephews of a *modern* pope.

that has been obſerved of the greatneſs of the Colonna, will likewiſe redound to the glory of the Urſini, their conſtant and equal antagoniſts in the long hereditary feud, which diſtracted above two hundred and fifty years the eccleſiaſtical ſtate. The jealouſy of pre-eminence and power was the true ground of their quarrel; but as a ſpecious badge of diſtinction, the Colonna embraced the name of Ghibelines and the party of the empire; the Urſini eſpouſed the title of Guelphs and the cauſe of the church. The eagle and the keys were diſplayed in their adverſe banners; and the two factions of Italy moſt furiouſly raged when the origin and nature of the diſpute were long ſince forgotten[137]. After the retreat of the popes to Avignon, they diſputed in arms the vacant republic: and the miſchiefs of diſcord were perpetuated by the wretched compromiſe of electing each year two rival ſenators. By their private hoſtilities, the city and country were deſolated, and the fluctuating balance inclined with their alternate ſucceſs. But none of either family had fallen by the ſword, till the moſt renowned champion of the Urſini was ſurpriſed and ſlain by the younger Stephen Colonna[138]. His triumph is ſtained with the reproach of violating the truce; their defeat was baſely avenged by the aſſaſſination, before the church door, of an innocent boy and his two ſervants. Yet the victorious Co-

Their hereditary feuds.

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[137] In his li. Diſſertation on the Italian Antiquities, Muratori explains the factions of the Guelphs and Ghibelines.

[138] Petrarch (tom. i. p. 222—230.) has celebrated this victory according to the Colonna; but two contemporaries, a Florentine (Giovanni Villani, l. x. c. 220.) and a Roman (Ludovico Monaldeſchi, p. 533, 534.), are leſs favourable to their arms.

lonna, with an annual colleague, was declared ſenator of Rome during the term of five years. And the muſe of Petrarch inſpired a wiſh, a hope, a prediction, that the generous youth, the ſon of his venerable hero, would reſtore Rome and Italy to their priſtine glory; that his juſtice would extirpate the wolves and lions, the ſerpents and *bears*, who laboured to ſubvert the eternal baſis of the marble COLUMN[109].

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[109] The abbé de Sade (tom. i. Notes, p. 61—66.) has applied the viith Canzone of Petrarch, *Spirto Gentil*, &c. to Stephen Colonna the younger:

Orſi, lupi, leoni, aquile e ſerpi
Ad una gran marmorea *colonna*
Fanno noja ſovente e à ſe danno.

CHAP. LXX.

Character and Coronation of Petrarch.—Reſtoration of the Freedom and Government of Rome by the Tribune Rienzi.—His Virtues and Vices, his Expulſion and Death.—Return of the Popes from Avignon.—Great Schiſm of the Weſt.—Re-union of the Latin Church.—Laſt Struggles of Roman Liberty.—Statutes of Rome.—Final Settlement of the Eccleſiaſtical State.

CHAP. LXX.

Petrarch, A. D. 1304, June 19— A. D. 1374, July 19.

IN the apprehenſion of modern times, Petrarch[1] is the Italian ſongſter of Laura and love. In the harmony of his Tuſcan rhymes, Italy applauds, or rathers adores, the father of her lyric poetry: and his verſe, or at leaſt his name, is repeated by the enthuſiaſm, or affectation, of amorous ſenſibility. Whatever may be the private taſte of a ſtranger, his ſlight and ſuperficial knowledge ſhould humbly acquieſce in the judgment of a learned nation: yet I may hope or preſume, that the Italians do not compare the tedious uniformity of ſonnets and elegies, with the ſublime compoſitions of their epic muſe, the original wildneſs of Dante, the regular beauties of Taſſo, and the boundleſs variety of the incomparable Arioſto. The merits of the lover, I am ſtill leſs qualified to appreciate: nor am I deeply intereſted in a metaphyſical paſſion for a nymph ſo ſhadowy, that her exiſtence has been queſtioned[2]; for a matron ſo prolific[3], that ſhe was delivered of eleven legitimate children[4], while her amorous ſwain ſighed and ſung at the fountain of Vaucluſe[5]. But in the eyes of Petrarch, and thoſe of his graver contemporaries, his love was a ſin, and Italian verſe a frivolous amuſement. His Latin works of philoſophy, poetry, and eloquence, eſtabliſhed his ſerious reputation, which was ſoon diffuſed from Avignon over France and

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[1] The Mémoires ſur la Vie de François Pétrarque (Amſterdam, 1764, 1767, 3 vols. in 4to.) form a copious, original, and entertaining work, a labour of love, compoſed from the accurate ſtudy of Petrarch and his contemporaries; but the hero is too often loſt in the general hiſtory of the age, and the author too often languiſhes in the affectation of politeneſs and gallantry. In the preface to his firſt volume, he enumerates and weighs twenty Italian biographers, who have profeſſedly treated of the ſame ſubject.

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[2] The allegorical interpretation prevailed in the xvth century; but the wiſe commentators were not agreed whether they ſhould underſtand by Laura, religion, or virtue, or the bleſſed Virgin, or ———. See the prefaces to the iſt and iid volume.

[3] Laure de Noves, born about the year 1307, was married in January 1325 to Hugues de Sade, a noble citizen of Avignon, whoſe jealouſy was not the effect of love, ſince he married a ſecond wife within ſeven months of her death, which happened the 6th of April 1348, preciſely one-and-twenty years after Petrarch had ſeen and loved her.

[4] Corpus crebris partubus exhauſtum; from one of theſe is iſſued, in the tenth degree, the abbé de Sade, the fond and grateful biographer of Petrarch; and this domeſtic motive moſt probably ſuggeſted the idea of his work, and urged him to enquire into every circumſtance that could affect the hiſtory and character of his grandmother (ſee particularly tom. i. p. 122—133. notes, p. 7—58. tom. ii. p. 455—495. not. p. 76—82.).

[5] Vaucluſe, ſo familiar to our Engliſh travellers, is deſcribed from the writings of Petrarch, and the local knowledge of his biographer (Memoires, tom. i. p. 340—359.). It was, in truth, the retreat of an hermit; and the moderns are much miſtaken, if they place Laura and an happy lover in the grotto.

Italy: his friends and diſciples were multiplied in every city; and if the ponderous volume of his writings[6] be now abandoned to a long repoſe, our gratitude muſt applaud the man, who by precept and example revived the ſpirit and ſtudy of the Auguſtan age. From his earlieſt youth, Petrarch aſpired to the poetic crown. The academical honours of the three faculties had introduced a royal degree of maſter or doctor in the art of poetry[7]; and the title of poet-laureat, which cuſtom, rather than vanity, perpetuates in the Engliſh court[8], was firſt invented by the Cæſars of Germany. In the muſical games of antiquity, a prize was beſtowed on the victor[9], the belief that Virgil and Horace had been crowned in the Capitol inflamed the emulation of a Latin bard[10]; and the laurel[11] was endeared to the lover by a verbal reſemblance with the name of his miſtreſs. The value of either object was enhanced by the difficulties of the purſuit; and if the virtue or prudence of Laura was inexorable[12], he enjoyed, and might boaſt of enjoying, the nymph of poetry. His vanity was not of the moſt delicate kind, ſince he applauds the ſucceſs of his own *labours*; his name was popular; his friends were active; the open or ſecret oppoſition of envy and prejudice was ſurmounted by the dexterity of patient merit. In the thirty-ſixth year of his age, he was ſolicited to accept the object of his wiſhes: and on the ſame day, in the ſolitude of Vaucluſe, he received a ſimilar and ſolemn invitation from the ſenate of Rome and the univerſity of Paris. The learning of a theological ſchool, and the ignorance of a

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[6] Of 1250 pages, in a cloſe print, at Baſil in the xvith century, but without the date of the year. The abbé de Sade calls aloud for a new edition of Petrarch's Latin works; but I [illegible] would redound to the profit of the bookſeller, or [illegible] the public.

[7] Conſult Selden's Titles of Honour, in his works (vol. iii. p. 457—466.). An hundred years before Petrarch, [illegible] the [illegible], qui ab imperatore fuerat coronatus et [illegible]

[8] [illegible]

[9] [illegible] tom. i. p. 116, 117. [illegible]

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[10] The Capitoline games (certamen quinquennale, *muſicum*, equeſtre, gymnicum), were inſtituted by Domitian (Sueton. c. 4.) in the year of Chriſt 86 (Cenſorin. de Die Natali, c. 18. p. 100. edit. Havercamp), and were not aboliſhed in the ivth century (Auſonius de Profeſſoribus Burdegal. V.). If the crown were given to ſuperior merit, the excluſion of Statius (Capitolia noſtræ inficiata lyræ, Silv. l. iii. v. 31.) may do honour to the games of the Capitol; but the Latin poets who lived before Domitian were crowned only in the public opinion.

[11] Petrarch and the ſenators of Rome were ignorant that the laurel was not the Capitoline, but the Delphic, crown (Plin. Hiſt. Natur. xv. 39. Hiſt. Critique de la Republique des Lettres, tom. i. p. 150—220.). The victors in the Capitol were crowned with a garland of oak leaves (Martial, l. iv. epigram 54.).

[12] The pious grandſon of Laura has laboured, and not without ſucceſs, to vindicate her immaculate chaſtity againſt the cenſures of the grave and the ſneers of the profane (tom. ii. notes, p. 76—82.).

lawleſs

lawleſs city, were alike unqualified to beſtow the ideal though immortal wreath which genius may obtain from the free applauſe of the public and of poſterity: but the candidate diſmiſſed this troubleſome reflection; and, after ſome moments of complacency and ſuſpenſe, preferred the ſummons of the metropolis of the world.

His poetic coronation at Rome, A. D. 1341. April 8.

The ceremony of his coronation[13] was performed in the Capitol, by his friend and patron the ſupreme magiſtrate of the republic. Twelve patrician youths were arrayed in ſcarlet; ſix repreſentatives of the moſt illuſtrious families, in green robes, with garlands of flowers, accompanied the proceſſion; in the midſt of the princes and nobles, the ſenator, count of Anguillara, a kinſman of the Colonna, aſſumed his throne; and at the voice of an herald Petrarch aroſe. After diſcourſing on a text of Virgil, and thrice repeating his vows for the proſperity of Rome, he knelt before the throne and received from the ſenator a laurel crown, with a more precious declaration, "This is the reward of merit." The people ſhouted, "Long life to the Capitol and the poet!" A ſonnet in praiſe of Rome was accepted as the effuſion of genius and gratitude; and after the whole proceſſion had viſited the Vatican, the profane wreath was ſuſpended before the ſhrine of St. Peter. In the act or diploma[14] which was preſented to Petrarch, the title and prerogatives of poet laureat are revived in the Capitol, after the lapſe of thirteen hundred years; and he receives the perpetual privilege of wearing, at his choice, a crown of laurel, ivy, or myrtle, of aſſuming the poetic habit, and of teaching, diſputing, interpreting, and compoſing in all places whatſoever, and on all ſubjects of literature. The grant was ratified by the authority of the ſenate and people; and the character of citizen was the recompenſe of his affection for the Roman name. They did him honour, but they did him juſtice. In the familiar ſociety of Cicero and Livy, he had imbibed the ideas of an ancient patriot; and his ardent fancy kindled every idea to a ſentiment, and every ſentiment to a paſſion. The aſpect of the ſeven hills and their majeſtic ruins confirmed theſe lively impreſſions; and he loved a country by whoſe liberal ſpirit he had been crowned and adopted. The poverty and debaſement of Rome excited the indignation and pity of her grateful ſon: he diſſembled the faults of his fellow-citizens; applauded with partial fondneſs the laſt of their heroes and matrons; and in the remembrance of the paſt, in the hope of the future, was pleaſed to forget the miſeries of the preſent time. Rome was ſtill the lawful miſtreſs of the world: the pope and the emperor, her biſhop and general, had abdicated their ſtation by an inglorious retreat to the Rhône and the Danube; but if ſhe could reſume her virtue, the republic might again vindicate her liberty and dominion. Amidſt the indulgence of Benedict the XIIth and Clement the VIth, Petrarch, Italy, and Europe, were astonished by a revolution which realised for a moment his most splendid visions. The rise and fall of the tribune Rienzi will occupy the following pages: the subject is interesting, the materials are rich, and the glance of a patriot-bard will sometimes vivify the copious, but simple, narrative of the Florentine, and more especially of the Roman, historian.

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[13] The whole proceſs of Petrarch's coronation is accurately deſcribed by the abbé de Sade (tom. i. p. 425—435. tom. ii. p. 1—6. notes, p. 1—13.) from his own writings, and the Roman Diary of Ludovico Monaldeſchi, without mixing in this authentic narrative the more recent fables of Sannuccio Delbene.

[14] The original act is printed among the Pieces Juſtificatives in the Memoires ſur Petrarque, tom. iii. p. 50—53.

The [illegible] epistles of Petrarch to [illegible] Benedict XII. and Clement VI. [illegible] (p. [illegible]), Petrarch [illegible] The latter [illegible] Rome [illegible] (p. 322—325) [illegible]

It was found among the papers of the Jesuit P. du Cerceau, his posthumous work (Conjuration de Nicolas Gabrini, dit de Rienzi, Tyran de Rome, en 1347) was published at Paris, 1748, in 12mo. I am indebted to him for some facts and documents in John Hocsemius, canon of Liege, a contemporary historian (Fabricius, Bibliot. Lat. Med. Ævi, tom. iii. p. 273. tom. iv. p. [illegible]).

The abbé de Sade, who so freely expatiates on the history of the xivth century, might treat, as his proper subject, a revolution in which the heart of Petrarch was so deeply engaged (Mémoires, tom. ii. p. 50, 51, 320—417. notes, p. 70—76. tom. iii. p. 221—243. 366—375). Not an idea or a fact in the writings of Petrarch has probably escaped him.

Giovanni Villani, l. xii. c. 89. 104. in Muratori, Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, tom. xiii. p. 969, 970. 981—983.

In his third volume of Italian Antiquities (p. 249—548), Muratori has inserted the Fragmenta Historiæ Romanæ ab Anno 1327 usque ad Annum 1354, in the original dialect of Rome or Naples in the xivth century, and a Latin version for the benefit of strangers. It contains the most particular and authentic life of Cola (Nicholas) di Rienzi; which had been printed at Bracciano, 1627, in 4to, under the name of Tomaso Fortifiocca, who is only mentioned in this work as having been punished by the tribune for forgery.

Birth, character, and patriotic designs of Rienzi.

In a quarter of the city which was inhabited only by mechanics and Jews, the marriage of an innkeeper and a waſherwoman produced the future deliverer of Rome[20]. From ſuch parents Nicholas Rienzi Gabrini could inherit neither dignity nor fortune; and the gift of a liberal education, which they painfully beſtowed, was the cauſe of his glory and untimely end. The ſtudy of hiſtory and eloquence, the writings of Cicero, Seneca, Livy, Cæſar, and Valerius Maximus, elevated above his equals and contemporaries the genius of the young plebeian: he peruſed with indefatigable diligence the manuſcripts and marbles of antiquity; loved to diſpenſe his knowledge in familiar language; and was often provoked to exclaim, "Where are now theſe Romans? their "virtue, their juſtice, their power? why was I "not born in thoſe happy times[21]!" When the

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nature is ſcarcely capable of ſuch ſublime or ſtupid impartiality; but whoſoever is the author of theſe Fragments, he wrote on the ſpot and at the time, and paints, without deſign or art, the manners of Rome and the character of the tribune.

[20] The firſt and ſplendid period of Rienzi, his tribunitian government, is contained in the xviiith chapter of the Fragments (p. 399—479), which, in the new diviſion, forms the iid book of the hiſtory in xxxviii ſmaller chapters or ſections.

[21] The reader may be pleaſed with a ſpecimen of the original idiom: Fò da ſoa juventutine nutricato di latte de eloquentia, bono gramatico, megliore rettuorico, autoriſta bravo. Deh como et quanto era veloce letore! molto uſava Tito Livio, Seneca, et Tullio, et Balerio Maſſimo, molto li dilettava le magnificentie di Julio Ceſare raccontare. Tutta la die ſe ſpeculava negl' intagli di marmo lequali iaccio intorno Roma. Non era altri che eſſo, che ſapeſſe lejere li antichi pataffii. Tutte ſcritture antiche vulgarizzava; queſſe fiure di marmo juſtamente interpretava. Oh come ſpeſſo diceva, "Dove ſuoco quelli buoni Romani? dove ene loro ſumma juſtitia? poleramme trovare in tempo che queſſi fiuriano!"

republic addreſſed to the throne of Avignon an embaſſy of the three orders, the ſpirit and eloquence of Rienzi recommended him to a place among the thirteen deputies of the commons. The orator had the honour of haranguing pope Clement the ſixth, and the ſatisfaction of converſing with Petrarch, a congenial mind: but his aſpiring hopes were chilled by diſgrace and poverty; and the patriot was reduced to a ſingle garment and the charity of the hoſpital. From this miſery he was relieved by the ſenſe of merit or the ſmile of favour; and the employment of apoſtolic notary afforded him a daily ſtipend of five gold florins, a more honourable and extenſive connection, and the right of contraſting, both in words and actions, his own integrity with the vices of the ſtate. The eloquence of Rienzi was prompt and perſuaſive: the multitude is always prone to envy and cenſure: he was ſtimulated by the loſs of a brother and the impunity of the aſſaſſins; nor was it poſſible to excuſe or exaggerate the public calamities. The bleſſings of peace and juſtice, for which civil ſociety has been inſtituted, were baniſhed from Rome: the jealous citizens, who might have endured every perſonal or pecuniary injury, were moſt deeply wounded in the diſhonour of their wives and daughters[22]: they were equally oppreſſed by the arrogance of the nobles and the corruption of the magiſtrates; and the abuſe of arms or of laws was the only circumſtance that diſtinguiſhed the lions, from the dogs and ſerpents, of the Capitol. Theſe allegorical emblems were variouſly repeated in the pictures which Rienzi exhibited in the ſtreets and churches; and while the ſpectators gazed with curious wonder, the bold and ready orator unfolded the meaning, applied the ſatire, inflamed their paſſions, and announced a diſtant hope of comfort and deliverance. The privileges of Rome, her eternal ſovereignty over her princes and provinces, was the theme of his public and private diſcourſe; and a monument of ſervitude became in his hands a title and incentive of liberty. The decree of the ſenate, which granted the moſt ample prerogatives to the emperor Veſpaſian, had been inſcribed on a copper-plate ſtill extant in the choir of the church of St. John Lateran[23]. A numerous aſſembly of nobles and plebeians was invited to this political lecture, and a convenient theatre was erected for their reception. The notary appeared, in a magnificent and myſterious habit, explained the inſcription by a verſion and commentary[24], and deſcanted with eloquence and zeal on the ancient glories of the ſenate and people, from whom all legal authority was derived. The ſupine ignorance of the nobles was incapable of diſcerning the ſerious tendency of ſuch repreſentations: they might ſometimes chaſtiſe with words and blows the plebeian reformer; but he was often ſuffered in the Colonna palace to amuſe the company with his threats and predictions; and the modern Brutus[25] was concealed under the maſk of folly and the character of a buffoon. While they indulged their contempt, the reſtoration of the *good eſtate*, his favourite expreſſion, was entertained among the people as a deſirable, a poſſible, and at length as an approaching, event; and while all had the diſpoſition to applaud, ſome had the courage to aſſiſt, their promiſed deliverer.

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[22] Petrarch compares the jealouſy of the Romans with the eaſy temper of the huſbands of Avignon (Memoires, tom. i. p. 330.).

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[23] The fragments of the *Lex Regia* may be found in the Inſcriptions of Gruter, tom. i. p. 242. and at the end of the Tacitus of Erneſti, with ſome learned notes of the editor, tom. ii.

[24] I cannot overlook a ſtupendous and laughable blunder of Rienzi. The Lex Regia empowers Veſpaſian to enlarge the Pomœrium, a word familiar to every antiquary. It was not ſo to the tribune; he confounds it with *pomarium* an orchard, tranſlates lo Jardino de Roma cioene Italia, and is copied by the leſs excuſable ignorance of the Latin tranſlator (p. 406.) and the French hiſtorian (p. 33.). Even the learning of Muratori has ſlumbered over the paſſage.

He aſſumes the government of Rome. A.D. 1347. May 20;

A prophecy, or rather a ſummons, affixed on the church door of St. George, was the firſt public evidence of his deſigns; a nocturnal aſſembly of an hundred citizens on mount Aventine, the firſt ſtep to their execution. After an oath of ſecrecy and aid, he repreſented to the conſpirators the importance and facility of their enterpriſe; that the nobles, without union or reſources, were ſtrong only in the fear of their imaginary ſtrength; that all power, as well as right, was in the hands of the people; that the revenues of the apoſtolical chamber might relieve the public diſtreſs; and that the pope himſelf would approve their victory over the common enemies of government and freedom. After ſecuring a faithful band to protect his firſt declaration, he proclaimed through the city, by ſound of trumpet, that on the evening of the following day all perſons ſhould aſſemble without arms before the church of St. Angelo, to provide for the re-eſtabliſhment of the good eſtate. The whole night was employed in the celebration of thirty maſſes of the Holy Ghoſt; and in the morning, Rienzi, bareheaded, but in complete armour, iſſued from the church, encompaſſed by the hundred conſpirators. The pope's vicar, the ſimple biſhop of Orvieto, who had been perſuaded to ſuſtain a part in this ſingular ceremony, marched on his right-hand; and three great ſtandards were borne aloft as the emblems of their deſign. In the firſt, the banner of *liberty*, Rome was ſeated on two lions, with a palm in one hand and a globe in the other: St. Paul, with a drawn ſword, was delineated in the banner of *juſtice*; and in the third, St. Peter held the keys of *concord* and *peace*. Rienzi was encouraged by the preſence and applauſe of an innumerable crowd, who underſtood little, and hoped much; and the proceſſion ſlowly rolled forwards from the caſtle of St. Angelo to the Capitol. His triumph was diſturbed by ſome ſecret emotion which he laboured to ſuppreſs: he aſcended without oppoſition, and with ſeeming confidence, the citadel of the republic; harangued the people from the balcony; and received the moſt flattering confirmation of his acts and laws. The nobles, as if deſtitute of arms and counſels, beheld in ſilent conſternation this ſtrange revolution; and the moment had been prudently choſen, when the moſt formidable, Stephen Colonna, was abſent from the city. On the firſt rumour, he returned to his palace, affected to deſpiſe this plebeian tumult, and declared to the meſſenger of Rienzi, that at his leiſure he would caſt the madman from the windows of the Capitol. The great bell inſtantly rang an alarm, and ſo rapid was the tide, ſo urgent was the danger, that Colonna eſcaped with precipitation to the ſuburb of St. Laurence: from thence, after a moment's refreſhment, he continued the ſame ſpeedy career till he reached in ſafety his caſtle of Paleſtrina; lamenting his own imprudence, which had not trampled the ſpark of this mighty conflagration. A general and peremptory order was iſſued from the Capitol to all the nobles, that they ſhould peaceably retire to their eſtates: they obeyed; and their departure ſecured the tranquillity of the free and obedient citizens of Rome.

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[25] [illegible]

with the title and office of tribune,

But ſuch voluntary obedience evaporates with the firſt tranſports of zeal, and Rienzi felt the importance of juſtifying his uſurpation by a regular form and a legal title. At his own choice, the Roman people would have diſplayed their attachment and authority, by laviſhing on his head the names of ſenator or conſul, of king or emperor: he preferred the ancient and modeſt appellation of tribune; the protection of the commons was the eſſence of that ſacred office; and they were ignorant, that it had never been inveſted with any ſhare in the legiſlative or executive power of the republic. In this character, and with the conſent of the Romans, the tribune enacted the moſt ſalutary laws for the reſtoration and maintenance

Laws of the good eſtate.

of the good eſtate. By the firſt he fulfils the wiſh of honeſty and inexperience, that no civil ſuit ſhould be protracted beyond the term of fifteen days. The danger of frequent perjury might juſtify the pronouncing againſt a falſe accuſer the ſame penalty which his evidence would have inflicted: the diſorders of the times might compel the legiſlator to puniſh every homicide with death, and every injury with equal retaliation. But the execution of juſtice was hopeleſs till he had previouſly aboliſhed the tyranny of the nobles. It was formally provided, that none, except the ſupreme magiſtrate, ſhould poſſeſs or command the gates, bridges, or towers, of the ſtate: that no private garriſons ſhould be introduced into the towns or caſtles of the Roman territory; that none ſhould bear arms or preſume to fortify their houſes in the city or country; that the barons ſhould be reſponſible for the ſafety of the highways and the free paſſage of proviſions; and that the protection of malefactors and robbers ſhould be expiated by a fine of a thouſand marks of ſilver. But theſe regulations would have been impotent and nugatory, had not the licentious nobles been awed by the ſword of the civil power. A ſudden alarm from the bell of the Capitol, could ſtill ſummon to the ſtandard above twenty thouſand volunteers: the ſupport of the tribune and the laws required a more regular and permanent force. In each harbour of the coaſt, a veſſel was ſtationed for the aſſurance of commerce; a ſtanding militia of three hundred and ſixty horſe and thirteen hundred foot was levied, cloathed, CHAP. LXX.

and paid in the thirteen quarters of the city: and the spirit of a commonwealth may be traced in the grateful allowance of one hundred florins, or pounds, to the heirs of every soldier who lost his life in the service of his country. For the maintenance of the public defence, for the establishment of granaries, for the relief of widows, orphans, and indigent convents, Rienzi applied without fear of sacrilege, the revenues of the apostolic chamber: the three branches of hearth-money, the salt-duty, and the customs, were each of the annual produce of one hundred thousand florins; and scandalous were the abuses, if in [illegible]

[illegible]

their diſmay was aggravated by the indignation which they vainly ſtruggled to diſguiſe. The ſame oath was ſucceſſively pronounced by the ſeveral orders of ſociety, the clergy and gentlemen, the judges and notaries, the merchants and artiſans, and the gradual deſcent was marked by the increaſe of ſincerity and zeal. They ſwore to live and die with the republic and the church, whoſe intereſt was artfully united by the nominal aſſociation of the biſhop of Orvieto, the pope's vicar, to the office of tribune. It was the boaſt of Rienzi, that he had delivered the throne and patrimony of St. Peter from a rebellious ariſtocracy; and Clement the ſixth, who rejoiced in its fall, affected to believe the profeſſions, to applaud the merits, and to confirm the title, of his truſty ſervant. The ſpeech, perhaps the mind, of the tribune, was inſpired with a lively regard for the purity of the faith; he inſinuated his claim to a ſupernatural miſſion from the Holy Ghoſt: enforced by an heavy forfeiture the annual duty of confeſſion and communion; and ſtrictly guarded the ſpiritual as well as temporal welfare of his faithful people[27].

Freedom and proſperity of the Roman republic.

Never perhaps has the energy and effect of a ſingle mind been more remarkably felt than in the ſudden, though tranſient, reformation of Rome by the tribune Rienzi. A den of robbers was converted to the diſcipline of a camp or convent: patient to hear, ſwift to redreſs, inexorable to

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[27] Hocſemius, p. 398, apud du Cerçeau, Hiſt. de Rienzi, p. 194. The fifteen tribunitian laws may be found in the Roman hiſtorian (whom for brevity I ſhall name) Fortifiocca, l. ii. c. 4.

puniſh, his tribunal was always acceſſible to the poor and ſtranger; nor could birth, or dignity, or the immunities of the church, protect the offender or his accomplices. The privileged houſes, the private ſanctuaries in Rome, on which no officer of juſtice would preſume to treſpaſs, were aboliſhed; and he applied the timber and iron of their barricades in the fortifications of the Capitol. The venerable father of the Colonna was expoſed in his own palace to the double ſhame of being deſirous, and of being unable, to protect a criminal. A mule, with a jar of oil, had been ſtolen near Capranica; and the lord, of the Urſini family, was condemned to reſtore the damage, and to diſcharge a fine of four hundred florins for his negligence in guarding the highways. Nor were the perſons of the barons more inviolate than their lands or houſes: and either from accident or deſign, the ſame impartial rigour was exerciſed againſt the heads of the adverſe factions. Peter Agapet Colonna, who had himſelf been ſenator of Rome, was arreſted in the ſtreet for injury or debt; and juſtice was appeaſed by the tardy execution of Martin Urſini, who, among his various acts of violence and rapine, had pillaged a ſhipwrecked veſſel at the mouth of the Tyber[23]. His name, the purple of two cardinals,

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[23] Fortifiocca, l. ii. c. 11. From the account of this ſhipwreck, we learn ſome circumſtances of the trade and navigation of the age. 1. The ſhip was built and freighted at Naples for the ports of Marſeilles and Avignon. 2. The ſailors were of Naples and the iſle of Œnaria, leſs ſkilful than thoſe of Sicily and Genoa. 3. The navigation from Marſeilles was a coaſting voyage to the mouth

dinals, his uncles, a recent marriage, and a mortal diſeaſe, were diſregarded by the inflexible tribune, who had choſen his victim. The public officers dragged him from his palace and nuptial bed: his trial was ſhort and ſatisfactory: the bell of the Capitol convened the people: ſtript of his mantle, on his knees, with his hands bound behind his back, he heard the ſentence of death; and after a brief confeſſion, Urſini was led away to the gallows. After ſuch an example, none who were conſcious of guilt could hope for impunity, and the flight of the wicked, the licentious, and the idle, ſoon purified the city and territory of Rome. In this time (ſays the hiſtorian) the woods began to rejoice that they were no longer infeſted with robbers; the oxen began to plow; the pilgrims viſited the ſanctuaries; the roads and inns were repleniſhed with travellers; trade, plenty, and good faith were reſtored in the markets; and a purſe of gold might be expoſed without danger in the midſt of the highway. As ſoon as the life and property of the ſubject are ſecure, the labours and rewards of induſtry ſpontaneouſly revive: Rome was ſtill the metropolis of the Chriſtian world; and the fame and fortunes of the tribune were diffuſed in every country by the ſtrangers who had enjoyed the bleſſings of his government.

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mouth of the Tyber, where they took ſhelter in a ſtorm, but, inſtead of finding the current, unfortunately ran on a ſhoal: the veſſel was ſtranded, the mariners eſcaped. 4. The cargo, which was pillaged, conſiſted of the revenue of Provence for the royal treaſury, many bags of pepper and cinnamon, and bales of French cloth, to the value of 20,000 florins: a rich prize.

The

The tribune is respected in Italy, &c.

The deliverance of his country inſpired Rienzi with a vaſt, and perhaps viſionary, idea of uniting Italy in a great fœderative republic, of which Rome ſhould be the ancient and lawful head, and the free cities and princes the members and aſſociates. His pen was not leſs eloquent than his tongue; and his numerous epiſtles were delivered to ſwift and truſty meſſengers. On foot, with a white wand in their hand, they traverſed the foreſts and mountains; enjoyed, in the moſt hoſtile ſtates, the ſacred ſecurity of ambaſſadors; and reported, in the ſtyle of flattery or truth, that the highways along their paſſage were lined with kneeling multitudes, who implored Heaven for the ſucceſs of their undertaking. Could paſſion have liſtened to reaſon; could private intereſt have yielded to the public welfare; the ſupreme tribunal and confederate union of the Italian republic might have healed their inteſtine diſcord, and cloſed the Alps againſt the Barbarians of the North. But the propitious ſeaſon had elapſed; and if Venice, Florence, Sienna, Perugia, and many inferior cities, offered their lives and fortunes to the good eſtate, the tyrants of Lombardy and Tuſcany muſt deſpiſe, or hate, the plebeian author of a free conſtitution. From them, however, and from every part of Italy, the tribune received the moſt friendly and reſpectful anſwers: they were followed by the ambaſſadors of the princes and republics; and in this foreign conflux, on all the feſtivals of pleaſure or buſineſs, the low-born notary could aſſume the familiar a majeſtic courteſy of a ſovereign[29]. The moſt glorious circumſtance of his reign was an appeal to his juſtice from Lewis king of Hungary, who complained, that his brother, and her huſband, had been perfidiouſly ſtrangled by Jane queen of Naples[30]: her guilt or innocence was pleaded in a ſolemn trial at Rome; but after hearing the advocates[31], the tribune adjourned this weighty and invidious cauſe, which was ſoon determined by the ſword of the Hungarian. Beyond the Alps, more eſpecially at Avignon, the revolution was the theme of curioſity, wonder, and applauſe. Petrarch had been the private friend, perhaps the ſecret counſellor, of Rienzi: his writings breathe the moſt ardent ſpirit of patriotiſm and joy; and all reſpect for the pope, all gratitude for the Colonna, was loſt in the ſuperior duties of a Roman citizen. The poet-laureat of the Capitol

and celebrated by Petrarch.

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[29] It was thus that Oliver Cromwell's old acquaintance, who remembered his vulgar and ungracious entrance into the Houſe of Commons, were aſtoniſhed at the eaſe and majeſty of the protector on his throne (See Harris's Life of Cromwell, p. 27—34. from Clarendon, Warwick, Whitelocke, Waller, &c.). The conſciouſneſs of merit and power will ſometimes elevate the manners to the ſtation.

[30] See the cauſes, circumſtances, and effects of the death of Andrew, in Giannone (tom. iii. l. xxiii. p. 220—229.), and the Life of Petrarch (Mémoires, tom. ii. p. 143—148. 245—250. 375—379. notes, p. 21—37.). The Abbé de Sade wiſhes to extenuate her guilt.

[31] The advocate who pleaded againſt Jane could add nothing to the logical force and brevity of his maſter's epiſtle. Johanna! inordinata vita præcedens, retentio poteſtatis in regno, neglecta vindicta, vir alter ſuſceptus, et excuſatio ſubſequens, necis viri tui te probant fuiſſe participem et conſortem. Jane of Naples, and Mary of Scotland, have a ſingular conformity.

maintains

maintains the act, applauds the hero, and mingles with ſome apprehenſion and advice the moſt lofty hopes of the permanent and riſing greatneſs of the republic[32].

His vices and follies.

While Petrarch indulged theſe prophetic viſions, the Roman hero was faſt declining from the meridian of fame and power; and the people, who had gazed with aſtoniſhment on the aſcending meteor, began to mark the irregularity of its courſe, and the viciſſitudes of light and obſcurity. More eloquent than judicious, more enterpriſing than reſolute, the faculties of Rienzi were not balanced by cool and commanding reaſon: he magnified in a tenfold proportion the objects of hope and fear; and prudence, which could not have erected, did not preſume to fortify, his throne. In the blaze of proſperity, his virtues were inſenſibly tinctured with the adjacent vices; juſtice with cruelty, liberality with profuſion, and the deſire of fame with puerile and oſtentatious vanity. He might have learned, that the antient tribunes, ſo ſtrong and ſacred in the public opinion, were not diſtinguiſhed in ſtyle, habit, or appearance, from an ordinary plebeian[33]; and that as often as they viſited the city on foot, a ſingle *viator*, or beadle, attended the exerciſe of their office. The Gracchi would have frowned or ſmiled, could they have read the ſonorous titles and epithets of their ſucceſſor, "NICHOLAS, "SEVERE AND MERCIFUL; DELIVERER OF "ROME; DEFENDER of ITALY[34]; FRIEND OF "MANKIND, AND OF LIBERTY, PEACE, AND "JUSTICE; TRIBUNE AUGUST:" his theatrical pageants had prepared the revolution; but Rienzi abuſed, in luxury and pride, the political maxim of ſpeaking to the eyes, as well as the underſtanding, of the multitude. From nature he had received the gift of an handſome perſon[35], till it was ſwelled and disfigured by intemperance; and his propenſity to laughter was corrected in the magiſtrate by the affectation of gravity and ſternneſs. He was cloathed, at leaſt on public occaſions, in a party-coloured robe of velvet or ſattin, lined with fur, and embroidered with gold: the rod of juſtice, which he carried in his hand, was a ſceptre of poliſhed ſteel, crowned with a globe and croſs of gold, and incloſing a ſmall fragment of the true and holy wood. In his civil and religious

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[32] See the Epiſtola Hortatoria de Capeſſenda Republica, from Petrarch to Nicholas Rienzi (Opp. p. 535–540.), and the vth eclogue or paſtoral, a perpetual and obſcure allegory.

[33] In his Roman Queſtions, Plutarch (Opuſcul. tom. i. p. 505, 506. edit. Græc. Hen. Steph.) ſtates, on the moſt conſtitutional principles, the ſimple greatneſs of the tribunes, who were not properly magiſtrates, but a check on magiſtracy. It was their duty and intereſt [illegible] (a ſaying of C. Curio) [illegible]

[illegible]

εἶναι τῇ δημαρχίᾳ ὄψιν .... ὅσῳ δὲ μᾶλλον ἐκταπεινοῦται τῷ σχήματι, τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον αὔξεται τῇ δυνάμει, &c. Rienzi, and Petrarch himſelf, were incapable perhaps of reading a Greek philoſopher; but they might have imbibed the ſame modeſt doctrines from their favourite Latins, Livy and Valerius Maximus.

[34] I could not expreſs in Engliſh the forcible, though barbarous title of *Zelator* Italiæ, which Rienzi aſſumed.

[35] Era bell' homo (l. ii. c. 1. p. 399.). It is remarkable, that the riſo ſarcaſtico of the Bracciano edition is wanting in the Roman MS. from which Muratori has given the text. In his ſecond reign, when he is painted almoſt as a monſter, Rienzi travea una ventreſca tonna trionfale, a modo de uno Abbate Aſiano, or Aſinino (l. iii. c. 18. p. 523.).

ligious proceſſion through the city, he rode on a white ſteed, the ſymbol of royalty: the great banner of the republic, a ſun with a circle of ſtars, a dove with an olive branch, was diſplayed over his head; a ſhower of gold and ſilver was ſcattered among the populace; fifty guards with halberds encompaſſed his perſon; a troop of horſe preceded his march; and their tymbals and trumpets were of maſſy ſilver.

The pomp of his knighthood, A.D. 1347. August 1.

The ambition of the honours of chivalry[31] betrayed the meanneſs of his birth, and degraded the importance of his office; and the equeſtrian tribune was not leſs odious to the nobles, whom he adopted, than to the plebeians, whom he deſerted. All that yet remained of treaſure, or luxury, or art, was exhauſted on that ſolemn day. Rienzi led the proceſſion from the Capitol to the Lateran; the tediouſneſs of the way was relieved with decorations and games; the eccleſiaſtical, civil, and military orders marched under their various banners; the Roman ladies attended his wife; and the ambaſſadors of Italy might loudly applaud or ſecretly deride the novelty of the pomp. In the evening, when they had reached the church and palace of Conſtantine, he thanked and diſmiſſed the numerous aſſembly, with an invitation to the feſtival of the enſuing day. From the hands of a venerable knight he received the order of the Holy Ghoſt; the purification of the bath was a previous ceremony; but in no ſtep of his life did Rienzi excite ſuch ſcandal and cenſure as by the profane uſe of the porphyry vaſe, in which Conſtantine (a fooliſh legend) had been healed of his leproſy by pope Sylveſter[37]. With equal preſumption the tribune watched or repoſed within the conſecrated precincts of the baptiſtery; and the failure of his ſtate-bed was interpreted as an omen of his approaching downfal. At the hour of worſhip he ſhewed himſelf to the returning crowds in a majeſtic attitude, with a robe of purple, his ſword, and gilt ſpurs; but the holy rites were ſoon interrupted by his levity and inſolence. Riſing from his throne, and advancing towards the congregation, he proclaimed in a loud voice: "We ſummon to our tribunal pope "Clement; and command him to reſide in his "dioceſe of Rome: we alſo ſummon the ſacred "college of Cardinals[38]. We again ſummon the "two pretenders, Charles of Bohemia and Lewis "of Bavaria, who ſtyle themſelves emperors: "we likewiſe ſummon all the electors of Ger-"many, to inform us on what pretence they have

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[31] [illegible] may ſeem, this fe[illegible]

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[37] All parties believed in the leproſy and bath of Conſtantine (Petrarch, Epiſt. Famil. vi. 2.), and Rienzi juſtified his own conduct by obſerving to the court of Avignon, that a vaſe which had been uſed by a Pagan, could not be profaned by a pious Chriſtian. Yet this crime is ſpecified in the bull of excommunication (Hocſemius, apud du Cerçeau, p. 189, 190.).

[38] This verbal ſummons of pope Clement VI. which reſts on the authority of the Roman hiſtorian and a Vatican MS. is diſputed by the biographer of Petrarch (tom. ii. not. p. 70—76.), with arguments rather of decency than of weight. The court of Avignon might not chuſe to agitate this delicate queſtion.

"uſurped the inalienable right of the Roman "people, the ancient and lawful ſovereigns of the "empire[39]." Unſheathing his maiden ſword, he thrice brandiſhed it to the three parts of the world, and thrice repeated the extravagant declaration, "And this too is mine!" The pope's vicar, the biſhop of Orvieto, attempted to check this career of folly; but his feeble proteſt was ſilenced by martial muſic; and inſtead of withdrawing from the aſſembly, he conſented to dine with his brother tribune, at a table which had hitherto been reſerved for the ſupreme pontiff. A banquet ſuch as the Cæſars had given, was prepared for the Romans. The apartments, porticoes, and courts, of the Lateran were ſpread with innumerable tables for either ſex, and every condition; a ſtream of wine flowed from the noſtrils of Conſtantine's brazen horſe; no complaint, except of the ſcarcity of water, could be heard; and the licentiouſneſs of the multitude was curbed by diſcipline and fear. A ſubſequent day was appointed for the coronation of Rienzi[40]; ſeven crowns of different leaves or metals were ſucceſſively placed on his head by the moſt eminent of the Roman clergy; they repreſented the ſeven gifts of the Holy Ghoſt; and he ſtill profeſſed to imitate the example of the antient tribunes. Theſe extraordinary ſpectacles might deceive or flatter the

His coronation.

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[39] This annunciation of the two rival emperors, a monument of freedom and folly, is extant in Hocſemius (Cerceau, p. 163—166.).

[40] It is ſingular, that the Roman hiſtorian ſhould have overlooked this ſevenfold coronation, which is ſufficiently proved by internal evidence, and the teſtimony of Hocſemius, and even of Rienzi (Cerceau, p. 167—170. 229.).

people; and their own vanity was gratified in the vanity of their leader. But in his private life he ſoon deviated from the ſtrict rule of frugality and abſtinence; and the plebeians, who were awed by the ſplendor of the nobles, were provoked by the luxury of their equal. His wife, his ſon, his uncle (a barber in name and profeſſion), expoſed the contraſt of vulgar manners and princely expence: and without acquiring the majeſty, Rienzi degenerated into the vices, of a king.

Fear and hatred of the nobles of Rome.

A ſimple citizen deſcribes with pity, or perhaps with pleaſure, the humiliation of the barons of Rome. "Bareheaded, their hands croſſed on their "breaſt, they ſtood with downcaſt looks in the preſence of the tribune: and they trembled, good "God, how they trembled[41]!" As long as the yoke of Rienzi was that of juſtice and their country, their conſcience forced them to eſteem the man, whom pride and intereſt provoked them to hate: his extravagant conduct ſoon fortified their hatred by contempt; and they conceived the hope of ſubverting a power which was no longer ſo deeply rooted in the public confidence. The old animoſity of the Colonna and Urſini was ſuſpended for a moment by their common diſgrace: they aſſociated their wiſhes, and perhaps their deſigns; an aſſaſſin was ſeized and tortured; he accuſed the nobles; and as ſoon as Rienzi deſerved the fate, he adopted the ſuſpicions and maxims of a tyrant. On the ſame day, under various pretences, he invited to the Capitol his principal enemies, among whom were five members of the Urſini and three of the Colonna name. But inſtead of a council or a banquet, they found themſelves priſoners under the ſword of deſpotiſm or juſtice; and the conſciouſneſs of innocence or guilt might inſpire them with equal apprehenſions of danger. At the ſound of the great bell the people aſſembled; they were arraigned for a conſpiracy againſt the tribune's life; and though ſome might ſympathiſe in their diſtreſs, not a hand, nor a voice, was raiſed to reſcue the firſt of the nobility from their impending doom. Their apparent boldneſs was prompted by deſpair; they paſſed in ſeparate chambers a ſleepleſs and painful night; and the venerable hero, Stephen Colonna, ſtriking againſt the door of his priſon, repeatedly urged his guards to deliver him by a ſpeedy death from ſuch ignominious ſervitude. In the morning they underſtood their ſentence from the viſit of a confeſſor and the tolling of the bell. The great hall of the Capitol had been decorated for the bloody ſcene with red and white hangings: the [illegible] of the world; and, after raſhly offering a mortal injury, he vainly preſumed that, if he could forgive, he might himſelf be forgiven. His elaborate oration was that of a Chriſtian and a ſuppliant; and, as the humble miniſter of the commons, he entreated his maſters to pardon theſe noble criminals, for whoſe repentance and future ſervice he pledged his faith and authority. "If "you are ſpared," ſaid the tribune, "by the "mercy of the Romans, will you not promiſe "to ſupport the good eſtate with your lives and "fortunes?" Aſtoniſhed by this marvellous clemency, the barons bowed their heads; and, while they devoutly repeated the oath of allegiance, might whiſper a ſecret, and more ſincere, aſſurance of revenge. A prieſt, in the name of the people, pronounced their abſolution: they received the communion with the tribune, aſſiſted at the banquet, followed the proceſſion; and, after every ſpiritual and temporal ſign of reconciliation, were diſmiſſed in ſafety to their reſpective homes, with the new honours and titles of generals, conſuls, and patricians[42].

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[41] Puoi ſe faceva ſtare denante a ſe, mentre ſedeva, li baroni tutti in piedi ritti co le vraccia piecate, e co li capucci tratti. Deh como ſtavano pauroſi! (Hiſt. Rom. l. ii. c. 20. p. 439.) He ſaw them, and we ſee them.

[illegible]

During ſome weeks they were checked by the memory of their danger, rather than of their deliverance, till the moſt powerful of the Urſini, eſcaping with the Colonna from the city, erected at Marino the ſtandard of rebellion. The fortifications of the caſtle were inſtantly reſtored; the vaſſals attended their lord; the outlaws armed againſt the magiſtrate; the flocks and herds, the harveſts and vineyards, from Marino to the gates of Rome, were ſwept away or deſtroyed; and the people arraigned Rienzi as the author of the calamities which his government had taught them to forget. In the camp, Rienzi appeared to leſs advantage than in the roſtrum: and he neglected the progreſs of the rebel barons till their numbers were ſtrong, and their caſtles impregnable. From the pages of Livy he had not imbibed the art, or even the courage, of a general: an army of twenty thouſand Romans returned without honour or effect from the attack of Marino: and his vengeance was amuſed by painting his enemies, their heads downwards, and drowning two dogs (at leaſt they ſhould have been bears) as the repreſentatives of the Urſini. The belief of his incapacity encouraged their operations: they were invited by their ſecret adherents; and the barons attempted with four thouſand foot and ſixteen hundred horſe, to enter Rome by force or ſurpriſe. The city was prepared for their reception: the alarm-bell rung all night: the gates were ſtrictly guarded, or inſolently open; and after ſome heſitation they ſounded a retreat. The two firſt diviſions had paſſed along the walls, but the proſpect of a free entrance tempted the headſtrong [illegible] nobles in the rear; and after a [illegible], they were overthrown and maſſacred without quarter by the crowds of the Roman people. Stephen Colonna the younger, the [illegible] ſpirit to whom Petrarch aſcribed the

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[42] The original letter, in which Rienzi juſtifies his treatment of the Colonna (Hocſemius, apud du Cerceau, p. 222—229), diſplays, in genuine colours, the mixture of the knave and the madman.

Defeat and death of the Colonna, Nov. 20.

[illegible]

reſtoration of Italy, was preceded or accompanied in death by his ſon John, a gallant youth, by his brother Peter, who might regret the eaſe and honours of the church, by a nephew of legitimate birth, and by two baſtards of the Colonna race; and the number of ſeven, the ſeven crowns, as Rienzi ſtyled them, of the Holy Ghoſt, was completed by the agony of the deplorable parent, of the veteran chief, who had ſurvived the hope and fortune of his houſe. The viſion and prophecies of St. Martin and pope Boniface had been uſed by the tribune to animate his troops[43]: he diſplayed, at leaſt in the purſuit, the ſpirit of an hero; but he forgot the maxims of the ancient Romans, who abhorred the triumphs of civil war. The conqueror aſcended the Capitol; depoſited his crown and ſceptre on the altar; and boaſted with ſome truth, that he had cut off an ear which neither pope nor emperor had been able to amputate[44]. His baſe and implacable revenge denied the honours of burial; and the bodies of the Colonna, which he threatened to expoſe with thoſe of the vileſt malefactors, were ſecretly interred by the holy virgins of their name and family[45]. The people ſympathiſed in their grief, repented of their own fury, and deteſted the indecent joy of Rienzi, who viſited the ſpot where theſe illuſtrious victims had fallen. It was on that fatal ſpot, that he conferred on his ſon the honour of knighthood: and the ceremony was accompliſhed by a ſlight blow from each of the horſemen of the guard, and by a ridiculous and inhuman ablution from a pool of water, which was yet polluted with patrician blood[46].

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[43] Rienzi, in the above-mentioned letter, aſcribes to St. Martin the tribune, Boniface VIII. the enemy of Colonna, himſelf, and the Roman people, the glory of the day, which Villani likewiſe (l. 12. c. 104.) deſcribes as a regular battle. The diſorderly ſkirmiſh, the flight of the Romans, and the cowardice of Rienzi, are painted in the ſimple and minute narrative of Fortifiocca, or the anonymous citizen (l. ii. c. 34—37.).

[44] In deſcribing the fall of the Colonna, I ſpeak only of the family of Stephen the elder, who is often confounded by the P. du Cerçeau, with his ſon. That family was extinguiſhed, but the houſe has been perpetuated in the collateral branches, of which I have not a very accurate knowledge. Circumſpice (ſays Petrarch) familiæ tuæ ſtatum, Columnenſium *domus:* ſolito pauciores habeat columnas. Quid ad rem? modo fundamentum ſtabile, ſolidumq; permaneat.

Fall and flight of the tribune Rienzi, A.D. 1347, Dec. 15.

A ſhort delay would have ſaved the Colonna, the delay of a ſingle month, which elapſed between the triumph and exile of Rienzi. In the pride of victory, he forfeited what yet remained of his civil virtues, without acquiring the fame of military prowefs. A free and vigorous oppoſition was formed in the city; and when the tribune propoſed in the public council[47] to impoſe a new tax, and to regulate the government of Perugia, thirty-nine members voted againſt his meaſures, repelled the injurious charge of treachery and corruption; and urged him to prove, by their forcible excluſion, that, if the populace adhered to his cauſe, it was already diſclaimed by the moſt reſpectable citizens. The pope and the ſacred college had never been dazzled by his ſpecious profeſſions; they were juſtly offended by the inſolence of his conduct; a cardinal legate was ſent to Italy, and after ſome fruitleſs treaty, and two perſonal interviews, he fulminated a bull of excommunication, in which the tribune is degraded from his office, and branded with the guilt of rebellion, ſacrilege, and hereſy[48]. The ſurviving barons of Rome were now humbled to a ſenſe of allegiance; their intereſt and revenge engaged them in the ſervice of the church; but as the fate of the Colonna was before their eyes, they abandoned to a private adventurer the peril and glory of the revolution. John Pepin, count of Minorbino[49] in the kingdom of Naples, had been condemned for his crimes, or his riches, to perpetual impriſonment; and Petrarch, by ſoliciting his releaſe, indirectly contributed to the ruin of his friend. At the head of one hundred and fifty ſoldiers, the count of Minorbino introduced himſelf into Rome; barricaded the quarter of the Colonna; and found

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[45] The convent of St. Silveſter was founded, endowed, and protected by the Colonna cardinals, for the daughters of the family who embraced a monaſtic life, and who, in the year 1318, were twelve in number. [illegible] were allowed to marry with their kinſmen [illegible] the diſpenſation was juſtified by [illegible] of Rome [illegible] Pétrarque, [illegible]

[46] [illegible]

[47] [illegible]

[illegible]

[48] The briefs and bulls of Clement VI. againſt Rienzi, are tranſlated by the P. du Cerçeau (p. 196. 232.) from the Eccleſiaſtical Annals of Odericus Raynaldus (A. D. 1347, N° 15. 17. 21, &c.), who found them in the archives of the Vatican.

[49] Matteo Villani deſcribes the origin, character, and death of this count of Minorbino, a man da natura inconſtante e ſenza fede, whoſe grandfather, a crafty notary, was enriched and ennobled by the ſpoils of the Saracens of Nocera (l. vii. c. 102, 103.). See his impriſonment, and the efforts of Petrarch, tom. ii. p. 149—151.

the enterpriſe as eaſy as it had ſeemed impoſſible. From the firſt alarm, the bell of the Capitol inceſſantly tolled; but, inſtead of repairing to the well-known ſound, the people was ſilent and inactive; and the puſillanimous Rienzi, deploring their ingratitude with ſighs and tears, abdicated the government and palace of the republic.

Revolutions of Rome, A.D. 1347—1354.

Without drawing his ſword, count Pepin reſtored the ariſtocracy and the church; three ſenators were choſen, and the legate aſſuming the firſt rank, accepted his two colleagues from the rival families of Colonna and Urſini. The acts of the tribune were aboliſhed, his head was proſcribed; yet ſuch was the terror of his name, that the barons heſitated three days before they would truſt themſelves in the city, and Rienzi was left above a month in the caſtle of St. Angelo, from whence he peaceably withdrew, after labouring, without effect, to revive the affection and courage of the Romans. The viſion of freedom and empire had vaniſhed: their fallen ſpirit would have acquieſced in ſervitude, had it been ſmoothed by tranquillity and order: and it was ſcarcely obſerved, that the new ſenators derived their authority from the Apoſtolic See, that four cardinals were appointed to reform with dictatorial power the ſtate of the republic. Rome was again agitated by the bloody feuds of the barons, who deteſted each other, and deſpiſed the commons: their hoſtile fortreſſes, both in town and country, again roſe, and were again demoliſhed; and the peaceful citizens, a flock of ſheep, were devoured, ſays the Florentine hiſtorian, by theſe rapacious wolves. But when their pride and avarice had exhauſted the patience of the Romans, a confraternity of the virgin Mary protected or avenged the republic: the bell of the Capitol was again tolled, the nobles in arms trembled in the preſence of an unarmed multitude; and of the two ſenators, Colonna eſcaped from the window of the palace, and Urſini was ſtoned at the foot of the altar. The dangerous office of tribune was ſucceſſively occupied by two plebeians, Cerroni and Baroncelli. The mildneſs of Cerroni was unequal to the times; and after a faint ſtruggle, he retired with a fair reputation and a decent fortune to the comforts of rural life. Devoid of eloquence or genius, Baroncelli was diſtinguiſhed by a reſolute ſpirit: he ſpoke the language of a patriot, and trod in the footſteps of tyrants; his ſuſpicion was a ſentence of death, and his own death was the reward of his cruelties. Amidſt the public misfortunes, the faults of Rienzi were forgotten; and the Romans ſighed for the peace and proſperity of the good eſtate [50].

Adventures of Rienzi.

After an exile of ſeven years, the firſt deliverer was again reſtored to his country. In the diſguiſe of a monk or a pilgrim, he eſcaped from the caſtle of St. Angelo, implored the friendſhip of the king of Hungary and Naples, tempted the ambition of every bold adventurer, mingled at Rome with the pilgrims of the jubilee, lay concealed among the hermits of the Apennine, and wandered through the cities of Italy, Germany, and Bohemia. His perſon was inviſible, his name was yet formidable; and the anxiety of the court of Avignon ſuppoſes, and even magnifies, his perſonal merit. The emperor Charles the fourth gave audience to a ſtranger, who frankly revealed himſelf as the tribune of the republic; and aſtoniſhed an aſſembly of ambaſſadors and princes, by the eloquence of a patriot and the viſions of a prophet, the downfal of tyranny and the kingdom of the Holy Ghoſt [51]. Whatever had been his hopes, Rienzi found himſelf a captive; but he ſupported a character of independence and dignity, and obeyed, as his own choice, the irreſiſtible ſummons of the ſupreme pontiff. The zeal of Petrarch, which had been cooled by the unworthy conduct, was rekindled by the ſufferings and the preſence, of his friend; and he boldly complains of the times, in which the ſaviour of Rome was delivered by her emperor into the hands of her biſhop. Rienzi was tranſported ſlowly, but in ſafe cuſtody, from Prague to Avignon: his entrance into the city was that of a malefactor; in his priſon he was chained by the leg; and four cardinals were named to enquire into the crimes of hereſy and rebellion. But his trial and condemnation would have involved ſome queſtions, which it was more prudent to leave under the veil of myſtery: the temporal ſupremacy of the popes;

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[50] The troubles of Rome, from the departure to the return of Rienzi, are related by Matteo Villani (l. ii. c. 47. l. iii. c. 33. 57. 78.) and Thomas Fortifiocca (l. iii. c. 1—4.). I have ſlightly paſſed over theſe ſecondary characters, who imitated the original tribune.

A priſoner at Avignon, A.D. 1351.

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[51] Theſe viſions, of which the friends and [illegible] a Dominican in[illegible] [illegible] taught, that [illegible] was [illegible] that the [illegible] of the pope [illegible] be abolished [illegible] of hereſy and treaſon, without [illegible] people.

the duty of reſidence; the civil and eccleſiaſtical privileges of the clergy and people of Rome. The reigning pontiff well deſerved the appellation of *Clement*: the ſtrange viciſſitudes and magnanimous ſpirit of the captive excited his pity and eſteem; and Petrarch believes that he reſpected in the hero the name and ſacred character of a poet [52]. Rienzi was indulged with an eaſy confinement and the uſe of books; and in the aſſiduous ſtudy of Livy and the bible, he ſought the cauſe and the conſolation of his misfortunes.

Rienzi, ſenator of Rome, A.D. 1354.

The ſucceeding pontificate of Innocent the ſixth opened a new proſpect of his deliverance and reſtoration; and the court of Avignon was perſuaded, that the ſucceſsful rebel could alone appeaſe and reform the anarchy of the metropolis. After a ſolemn profeſſion of fidelity, the Roman tribune was ſent into Italy, with the title of ſenator; but the death of Baroncelli appeared to ſuperſede the uſe of his miſſion; and the legate, cardinal Albornoz [53], a conſummate ſtateſman, allowed him with reluctance, and without aid, to undertake the perilous experiment. His firſt reception was equal to his wiſhes: the day of his entrance was a public feſtival; and his eloquence and authority revived the laws of the good eſtate. But this momentary ſunſhine was ſoon clouded by his own vices and thoſe of the people: in the Capitol, he might often regret the priſon of Avignon; and after a ſecond adminiſtration of four months, Rienzi was maſſacred in a tumult which had been fomented by the Roman barons. In the ſociety of the Germans and Bohemians, he is ſaid to have contracted the habits of intemperance and cruelty: adverſity had chilled his enthuſiaſm, without fortifying his reaſon or virtue; and that youthful hope, that lively aſſurance, which is the pledge of ſucceſs, was now ſucceeded by the cold impotence of diſtruſt and deſpair. The tribune had reigned with abſolute dominion, by the choice, and in the hearts, of the Romans: the ſenator was the ſervile miniſter of a foreign court; and while he was ſuſpected by the people, he was abandoned by the prince. The legate Albornoz, who ſeemed deſirous of his ruin, inflexibly refuſed all ſupplies of men and money; a faithful ſubject could no longer preſume to touch the revenues of the apoſtolical chamber; and the firſt idea of a tax was the ſignal of clamour and ſedition. Even his juſtice was tainted with the guilt or reproach of ſelfiſh cruelty: the moſt virtuous citizen of Rome was ſacrificed to his jealouſy; and in the execution of a public robber, from whoſe purſe he had been aſſiſted, the magiſtrate too much forgot, or too much remembered, the obligations of the debtor[54].

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[52] The aſtoniſhment, the envy almoſt, of Petrarch is a proof, if not of the truth of this incredible fact, at leaſt of his own veracity. The abbé de Sade (Memoires, tom. iii. p. 242.) quotes the vith epiſtle of the xiiith book of Petrarch, but it is of the royal MS. which he conſulted, and not of the ordinary Baſil edition (p. 920.).

[53] Ægidius, or Giles Albornoz, a noble Spaniard, archbiſhop of Toledo, and cardinal legate in Italy (A. D. 1353—1367), reſtored, by his arms and counſels, the temporal dominion of the popes. His life has been ſeparately written by Sepulveda; but Dryden could not reaſonably ſuppoſe, that his name, or that of Wolſey, had reached the ears of the Mufti in Don Sebaſtian.

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[54] From Matteo Villani, and Fortifiocca, the P. du Cerçeau (p. 344—394.) has extracted the life and death of the chevalier Montreal, the life of a robber and the death of an hero. At the head

A civil war exhauſted his treaſures, and the patience of the city: the Colonna maintained their hoſtile ſtation at Paleſtrina; and his mercenaries ſoon deſpiſed a leader whoſe ignorance and fear were envious of all ſubordinate merit. In the death as in the life of Rienzi, the hero and the coward were ſtrangely mingled. When the Capitol was inveſted by a furious multitude, when he was baſely deſerted by his civil and military ſervants, the intrepid ſenator, waving the banner of liberty, preſented himſelf on the balcony, addreſſed his eloquence to the various paſſions of the Romans, and laboured to perſuade them, that in the ſame cauſe himſelf and the republic muſt either ſtand or fall. His oration was interrupted by a volley of imprecations and ſtones; and after an arrow had tranſpierced his head, he ſunk into abject deſpair, and fled weeping to the inner chambers, from whence he was let down by a ſheet before the windows of the priſon. Deſtitute of aid or hope, he was beſieged till the evening: the doors of the Capitol were deſtroyed with axes and fire; and while the ſenator attempted to eſcape in a plebeian habit, he was diſcovered and dragged to the platform of the palace, the fatal ſcene of his judgments and executions. A whole hour, without voice or motion, he ſtood amidſt the multitude half naked and half dead; their rage was huſhed into curioſity and wonder; the laſt feelings of reverence and compaſſion yet ſtruggled in his

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head of a free company, the firſt that deſolated Italy, he became rich and formidable: he had money in all the banks, 60,000 ducats in Padua alone.

His death, A.D. 1354, September 8.

favour; and they might have prevailed, if a bold aſſaſſin had not plunged a dagger in his breaſt. He fell ſenſeleſs with the firſt ſtroke; the impotent revenge of his enemies inflicted a thouſand wounds; and the ſenator's body was abandoned to the dogs, to the Jews, and to the flames. Poſterity will compare the virtues and failings of this extraordinary man; but in a long period of anarchy and ſervitude, the name of Rienzi has often been celebrated as the deliverer of his country, and the laſt of the Roman patriots [55].

Petrarch invites and upbraids the emperor Charles IV. A.D. 1355, January—May.

The firſt and moſt generous wiſh of Petrarch was the reſtoration of a free republic; but after the exile and death of his plebeian hero, he turned his eyes from the tribune, to the king, of the Romans. The Capitol was yet ſtained with the blood of Rienzi, when Charles the fourth deſcended from the Alps to obtain the Italian and Imperial crowns. In his paſſage through Milan he received the viſit, and repaid the flattery, of the poet-laureat; accepted a medal of Auguſtus; and promiſed, without a ſmile, to imitate the founder of the Roman monarchy. A falſe application of the names and maxims of antiquity was the ſource of the hopes and diſappointments of Petrarch; yet he could not overlook the difference of times and characters; the immeaſurable diſtance between the firſt Cæſars and a Bohemian prince, who by the favour of the clergy had been elected the titular head of the German ariſtocracy. Inſtead of reſtoring to Rome her glory and her provinces, he had bound himſelf, by a ſecret treaty with the pope, to evacuate the city on the day of his coronation; and his ſhameful retreat was purſued by the reproaches of the patriot bard[56].

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[55] The exile, ſecond government, and death of Rienzi, are minutely related by the anonymous Roman, who appears neither his friend nor his enemy (l. iii. c. 12—25). Petrarch, who loved the tribune, was indifferent to the fate of the ſenator.

He ſolicits the popes of Avignon to fix their reſidence at Rome.

After the loſs of liberty and empire, his third and more humble wiſh, was to reconcile the ſhepherd with his flock; to recal the Roman biſhop to his ancient and peculiar dioceſe. In the fervour of youth, with the authority of age, Petrarch addreſſed his exhortations to five ſucceſſive popes, and his eloquence was always inſpired by the enthuſiaſm of ſentiment and the freedom of language[57]. The ſon of a citizen of Florence invariably preferred the country of his birth to that of his education: and Italy, in his eyes, was the queen and garden of the world. Amidſt her domeſtic factions, ſhe was doubtleſs ſuperior to France both in art and ſcience, in wealth and politeneſs; but the difference could ſcarcely ſupport the epithet of barbarous, which he promiſcuouſly beſtows on the countries beyond the Alps. Avignon, the myſtic Babylon, the ſink of vice and corruption, was the object of his hatred and contempt; but he forgets that her ſcandalous vices were not the growth of the ſoil, and that in every reſidence they would adhere to the power and luxury of the papal court. He confeſſes, that the ſucceſſor of St. Peter is the biſhop of the univerſal church; yet it was not on the banks of the Rhone, but of the Tiber, that the apoſtle had fixed his everlaſting throne: and while every city in the Chriſtian world was bleſſed with a biſhop, the metropolis alone was deſolate and forlorn. Since the removal of the Holy See, the ſacred buildings of the Lateran and the Vatican, their altars and their ſaints, were left in a ſtate of poverty and decay; and Rome was often painted under the image of a diſconſolate matron, as if the wandering huſband could be reclaimed by the homely portrait of the age and infirmities of his weeping ſpouſe[58]. But the cloud which hung over the ſeven hills, would be diſpelled by the preſence of their lawful ſovereign: eternal fame, the proſperity of Rome, and the peace of Italy, would be the recompence of the pope who ſhould dare to embrace this generous reſolution. Of the five whom Petrarch exhorted, the three firſt, John the twenty-ſecond, Benedict the twelfth, and Clement the ſixth, were importuned or amuſed by the boldneſs of the orator; but the memorable change which had been attempted by Urban the fifth, was finally accompliſhed by Gregory the eleventh. The execution of their deſign was oppoſed by weighty and almoſt inſuperable obſtacles. A king of France who has deſerved the epithet of wiſe, was unwilling to releaſe them from a local dependence: the cardinals, for the moſt part his ſubjects, were attached to the language, manners, and climate, of Avignon; to their ſtately palaces; above all, to the wines of Burgundy. In their eyes, Italy was foreign or hoſtile; and they reluctantly embarked at Marſeilles, as if they had been ſold or baniſhed into the land of the Saracens. Urban the fifth reſided three years in the Vatican with ſafety and honour: his ſanctity was protected by a guard of two thouſand horſe; and the king of Cyprus, the queen of Naples, and the emperors of the Eaſt and Weſt devoutly ſaluted their common father in the chair of St. Peter. But the joy of Petrarch and the Italians was ſoon turned into grief and indignation. Some reaſons of public or private moment, his own impatience or the prayers of the cardinals, recalled Urban to France; and the approaching election was ſaved from the tyrannic patriotiſm of the Romans. The powers of heaven were intereſted in their cauſe: Bridget of Sweden, a ſaint and pilgrim, diſapproved the return, and foretold the death, of Urban the fifth: the migration of Gregory the eleventh was encouraged by St. Catherine of Sienna, the ſpouſe of Chriſt and ambaſſadreſs of the Florentines; and the popes themſelves, the great maſters of human credulity, appear to have liſtened to

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[56] The hopes and the diſappointment of Petrarch are agreeably deſcribed in his own words by the French biographer (Memoires, tom. iii. p. 375—413.); but the deep, though ſecret, wound, was the coronation of Zanubi, the poet-laureat by Charles IV.

[57] See in his accurate and amuſing biographer, the application of Petrarch and Rome to Benedict XII. in the year 1334 (Memoires, tom. i. p. 261—265.), to Clement VI. in 1342 (tom. ii. p. 45—47.), and to Urban V. in 1366 (tom. iii. p. 677—691.): his praiſe (p. 711—715.) and excuſe (p. 771.) of the laſt of theſe pontiffs. His angry controverſy on the reſpective merits of France and Italy may be found (Opp. p. 1068—1085.).

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[58] Squalida ſed quoniam facies, neglecta cultu
Cæſaries; multiſque malis laſſata ſenectus
Eripuit ſolitam effigiem: vetus accipe nomen;
Roma vocor. (Carm. l. 2. p. 77.)

He ſpins this allegory beyond all meaſure or patience. The Epiſtles to Urban V. in proſe, are more ſimple and perſuaſive (Senilium, l. vii. p. 811—827. l. ix. epiſt. i. p. 844—854.).

Return of Urban V. A. D. 1367, October 16— A. D. 1370, April 17.

Final return of Gregory XI. A. D. 1377, Jan. 17.

theſe viſionary females [59]. Yet thoſe celeſtial admonitions were ſupported by ſome arguments of temporal policy. The reſidence of Avignon had been invaded by hoſtile violence: at the head of thirty thouſand robbers, an hero had extorted ranſom and abſolution from the vicar of Chriſt and the ſacred college; and the maxim of the French warriors, to ſpare the people and plunder the church, was a new hereſy of the moſt dangerous import [60]. While the pope was driven from Avignon, he was ſtrenuouſly invited to Rome. The ſenate and people acknowledged him as their lawful ſovereign, and laid at his feet the keys of the gates, the bridges, and the fortreſſes; of the quarter at leaſt beyond the Tyber [61]. But this loyal offer was accompanied by a declaration, that they could no longer ſuffer the ſcandal and calamity of his abſence; and that his obſtinacy would finally provoke them to revive and aſſert the primitive right of election. The abbot of mount

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[59] [illegible] legends of St. Bridget or [illegible] Gregory XI. [illegible] popes, who [illegible] Avenionenſium [illegible]

[60] [illegible] Froiſſard (Chronique, [illegible] (Collection [illegible] p. 107—113. [illegible] Pagi (Menagiana [illegible]

[61] [illegible] Rayn[illegible] December 1376 [illegible]

Caſſin had been conſulted, whether he would accept the triple crown[62] from the clergy and people; "I am a citizen of Rome[63]," replied that venerable eccleſiaſtic, "and my firſt law is the "voice of my country[64]."

His death, A. D. 1378, March 27.

If ſuperſtition will interpret an untimely death[65]; if the merit of counſels be judged from the event; the heavens may ſeem to frown on a meaſure of ſuch apparent reaſon and propriety. Gregory the eleventh did not ſurvive above fourteen months his return to the Vatican; and his deceaſe was followed by the great ſchiſm of the Weſt, which diſtracted the Latin church above forty years.

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[62] The firſt crown or regnum (Ducange, Gloſſ. Latin. tom. v. p. 702.) on the epiſcopal mitre of the popes, is aſcribed to the gift of Conſtantine, or Clovis. The ſecond was added by Boniface VIII. as the emblem not only of a ſpiritual, but of a temporal, kingdom. The three ſtates of the church are repreſented by the triple crown which was introduced by John XXII. or Benedict XII. (Memoires ſur Petrarque, tom. i. p. 258, 259.).

[63] Baluze (Not. ad Pap. Avenion, tom. i. p. 1194, 1195.) produces the original evidence which atteſts the threats of the Roman ambaſſadors, and the reſignation of the abbot of mount Caſſin, qui ultro ſe offerens, reſpondit ſe civem Romanum eſſe, et illud velle quod ipſi vellent.

[64] The return of the popes from Avignon to Rome, and their reception by the people, are related in the original Lives of Urban V. and Gregory XI. in Baluze (Vit. Paparum Avenionenſium, tom. i. p. 363—486.) and Muratori (Script. Rer. Italicarum, tom. iii. P. i. p. 610---716.). In the diſputes of the ſchiſm, every circumſtance was ſeverely, though partially, ſcrutiniſed; more eſpecially in the great inqueſt, which decided the obedience of Caſtile, and to which Baluze, in his notes, ſo often and ſo largely appeals, from a MS. volume in the Harley library (p. 1281, &c.).

[65] Can the death of a good man be eſteemed a puniſhment by those who believe in the immortality of the ſoul? They betray the inſtability of their faith. Yet, as a mere philoſopher, I cannot agree with the Greeks, ὃν οἱ θεοὶ φιλοῦσιν ἀποθνήσκει νέος (Brunck, Poetæ Gnomici, p. 231.). See in Herodotus (l. i. c. 31.) the moral and pleaſing tale of the Argive youths.

Election of Urban VI. April 9.

Election of Clement VII. Sept. 21.

The ſacred college was then compoſed of twenty-two cardinals: ſix of theſe had remained at Avignon; eleven Frenchmen, one Spaniard, and four Italians, entered the conclave in the uſual form. Their choice was not yet limited to the purple; and their unanimous votes acquieſced in the archbiſhop of Bari, a ſubject of Naples, conſpicuous for his zeal and learning, who aſcended the throne of St. Peter under the name of Urban the ſixth. The epiſtle of the ſacred college affirms his free and regular election; which had been inſpired, as uſual, by the Holy Ghoſt: he was adored, inveſted, and crowned, with the cuſtomary rights; his temporal authority was obeyed at Rome and Avignon, and his eccleſiaſtical ſupremacy was acknowledged in the Latin world. During ſeveral weeks, the cardinals attended their new maſter with the faireſt profeſſions of attachment and loyalty; till the ſummer heats permitted a decent eſcape from the city. But as ſoon as they were united at Anagni and Fundi, in a place of ſecurity, they caſt aſide the maſk, accuſed their own falſehood and hypocriſy, excommunicated the apoſtate and antichriſt of Rome, and proceeded to a new election of Robert of Geneva, Clement the ſeventh, whom they announced to the nations as the true and rightful vicar of Chriſt. Their firſt choice, an involuntary and illegal act, was annulled by the fear of death and the menaces of the Romans; and their complaint is juſtified by the ſtrong evidence of probability and fact. The twelve French cardinals, above two-thirds of the votes, were maſters of the election; and whatever might be their provincial jealouſies, it cannot fairly be preſumed that they would have ſacrificed their right and intereſt to a foreign candidate, who would never reſtore them to their native country. In the various, and often inconſiſtent, narratives[65], the ſhades of popular violence are more darkly or faintly coloured: but the licentiouſneſs of the ſeditious Romans was inflamed by a ſenſe of their privileges, and the danger of a ſecond emigration. The conclave was intimidated by the ſhouts, and encompaſſed by the arms, of thirty thouſand rebels; the bells of the Capitol and St. Peter's rang an alarm; "Death, or an Italian pope!" was the univerſal cry; the ſame threat was repeated by the twelve bannerets or chiefs of the quarters, in the form of charitable advice; ſome preparations were made for burning the obſtinate cardinals; and had they choſen a Tranſalpine ſubject, it is probable that they would never have departed alive from the Vatican. The ſame conſtraint impoſed the neceſſity of diſſembling in the eyes of Rome and of the world: the pride and cruelty of Urban preſented a more inevitable danger; and they ſoon diſcovered the features of the tyrant, who could walk in his garden and recite his breviary, while he heard from an adjacent chamber ſix cardinals groaning on the rack. His inflexible zeal, which loudly cenſured their luxury and vice, would have attached them to the ſtations and duties of their pariſhes at Rome; and had he not fatally delayed a new promotion, the French cardinals would have been reduced to an helpleſs minority in the ſacred college. For theſe reaſons, and in the hope of repaſſing the Alps, they raſhly violated the peace and unity of the church; and the merits of their double choice are yet agitated in the Catholic ſchools[67]. The vanity, rather than the intereſt, of the nation determined the court and clergy of France[68]. The ſtates of Savoy, Sicily, Cyprus, Arragon, Caſtille, Navarre, and Scotland, were inclined by their example and authority to the obedience of Clement the ſeventh, and, after his deceaſe, of Benedict the thirteenth. Rome and the principal ſtates of Italy, Germany, Portugal, England[69], the Low Countries, and the kingdoms of the North, adhered to the prior election of Urban the ſixth, who was ſucceeded by Boniface the ninth, Innocent the ſeventh, and Gregory the twelfth.

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[65] In the firſt book of the Hiſtoire du Concile de Piſe, M. Lenfant has abridged and compared the original narratives of the adherents of Urban and Clement, of the Italians and Germans, the French and Spaniards. The latter appear to be the moſt active and loquacious, and every fact and word in the original Lives of Gregory XI. and Clement VII. are ſupported in the notes of their editor Baluze.

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[67] The ordinary calendars of the popes ſeem to decide the queſtion againſt Clement VII. and Benedict XIII. who are boldly ſtigmatiſed as antipopes by the Italians, while the French are content with authorities and reaſons to plead the cauſe of doubt and toleration (Baluz. in Præfat.). It is ſingular, or rather it is not ſingular, that ſaints, viſions, and miracles, ſhould be common to both parties.

[68] Baluze ſtrenuouſly labours (Not. p. 1271—1280.) to juſtify the pure and pious motives of Charles V. king of France; he refuſed to hear the arguments of Urban; but were not the Urbaniſts equally deaf to the reaſons of Clement, &c.?

[69] An epiſtle, or declamation, in the name of Edward III. (Baluz. Vit. Pap. Avenion. tom. i. p. 553.) diſplays the zeal of the Engliſh nation againſt the Clementines. Nor was their zeal confined to words: the biſhop of Norwich led a cruſade of 60,000 bigots beyond ſea (Hume's Hiſtory, vol. iii. p. 57, 58.).

Great ſchiſm of the Weſt, A. D. 1378—1418.

From the banks of the Tyber and the Rhône, the hoſtile pontiffs encountered each other with the pen and the ſword: the civil and eccleſiaſtical order of ſociety was diſturbed; and the Romans had their full ſhare of the miſchiefs of which they may be arraigned as the primary authors[70]. They had vainly flattered themſelves with the hope of reſtoring the ſeat of the eccleſiaſtical monarchy, and of relieving their poverty with the tributes and offerings of the nations; but the ſeparation of France and Spain diverted the ſtream of lucrative devotion; nor could the loſs be compenſated by the two jubilees which were crowded into the ſpace of ten years. By the avocations of the ſchiſm, by foreign arms, and popular tumults, Urban the ſixth and his three ſucceſſors were often compelled to interrupt their reſidence in the Vatican. The Colonna and Urſini ſtill exerciſed their deadly feuds: the bannerets of Rome aſſerted and abuſed the privileges of a republic: the vicars of Chriſt, who had levied a military force, chaſtiſed their rebellion with the gibbet, the ſword, and the dagger; and in a friendly conference, eleven deputies of the people were perfidiouſly murdered and caſt into the ſtreet. Since the invaſion of Robert the Norman, the Romans had purſued their domeſtic quarrels with-

Calamities of Rome.

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[70] Beſides the general hiſtorians, the Diaries of Delphinus Gentilis, Peter Antonius, and Stephen Infeſſura, in the great Collection of Muratori, repreſent the ſtate and misfortunes of Rome.

out the dangerous interpoſition of a ſtranger. But in the diſorders of the ſchiſm, an aſpiring neighbour, Ladiſlaus king of Naples, alternately ſupported and betrayed the pope and the people: by the former, he was declared *gonfalonier*, or general, of the church, while the latter ſubmitted to his choice the nomination of their magiſtrates. Beſieging Rome by land and water, he thrice entered the gates as a Barbarian conqueror; profaned the altars, violated the virgins, pillaged the merchants, performed his devotions at St. Peter's, and left a garriſon in the caſtle of St. Angelo. His arms were ſometimes unfortunate, and to a delay of three days he was indebted for his life and crown; but Ladiſlaus triumphed in his turn, and it was only his premature death that could ſave the metropolis and the eccleſiaſtical ſtate from the ambitious conqueror, who had aſſumed the title, or at leaſt the powers, of king of Rome[71].

Negociations for peace and union, A. D. 1392—1407.

I have not undertaken the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of the ſchiſm; but Rome, the object of theſe laſt chapters, is deeply intereſted in the diſputed ſucceſſion of her ſovereigns. The firſt counſels for the peace and union of Chriſtendom aroſe from the univerſity of Paris, from the faculty of the Sorbonne, whoſe doctors were eſteemed, at leaſt in the Gallican church, as the moſt conſummate maſters of theological ſcience[72]. Prudently waving all invidious enquiry into the origin and merits of the diſpute, they propoſed, as an healing meaſure, that the two pretenders of Rome and Avignon ſhould abdicate at the ſame time, after qualifying the cardinals of the adverſe factions to join in a legitimate election; and that the nations ſhould *ſubſtract*[73] their obedience, if either of the competitors preferred his own intereſt to that of the public. At each vacancy, theſe phyſicians of the church deprecated the miſchiefs of an haſty choice; but the policy of the conclave and the ambition of its members were deaf to reaſon and entreaties; and whatſoever promiſes were made, the pope could never be bound by the oaths of the cardinal. During fifteen years, the pacific deſigns of the univerſity were eluded by the arts of the rival pontiffs, the ſcruples or paſſions of their adherents, and the viciſſitudes of French factions, that ruled the inſanity of Charles the ſixth. At length a vigorous reſolution was embraced; and a ſolemn embaſſy, of the titular patriarch of Alexandria, two arch-

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[71] It is ſuppoſed by Giannone (tom. iii. p. 292.) that he ſtyled himſelf Rex Romæ, a title unknown to the world ſince the expulſion of Tarquin. But a nearer inſpection has juſtified the reading of Rex Ramæ, of Rama, an obſcure kingdom annexed to the crown of Hungary.

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[72] The leading and deciſive part which France aſſumed in the ſchiſm, is ſtated by Peter du Puis in a ſeparate Hiſtory, extracted from authentic records, and inſerted in the viith volume of the laſt and beſt edition of his friend Thuanus (P. xi. p. 110—184.).

[73] Of this meaſure, John Gerſon, a ſtout doctor, was the author or the champion. The proceedings of the univerſity of Paris and the Gallican church were often prompted by his advice, and are copiouſly diſplayed in his theological writings, of which Le Clerc (Bibliotheque Choiſie, tom. x. p. 1—78.) has given a valuable extract. John Gerſon acted an important part in the councils of Piſa and Conſtance.

biſhops,

biſhops, five biſhops, five abbots, three knights, and twenty doctors, was ſent to the courts of Avignon and Rome, to require, in the name of the church and king, the abdication of the two pretenders, of Peter de Luna, who ſtyled himſelf Benedict the thirteenth, and of Angelo Corrario, who aſſumed the name of Gregory the twelfth. For the ancient honour of Rome, and the ſucceſs of their commiſſion, the ambaſſadors ſolicited a conference with the magiſtrates of the city, whom they gratified by a poſitive declaration, that the moſt Chriſtian king did not entertain a wiſh of tranſporting the holy ſee from the Vatican, which he conſidered as the genuine and proper ſeat of the ſucceſſor of St. Peter. In the name of the ſenate and people, an eloquent Roman aſſerted their deſire to co-operate in the union of the church, deplored the temporal and ſpiritual calamities of the long ſchiſm, and requeſted the protection of France againſt the arms of the king of Naples. The anſwers of Benedict and Gregory were alike edifying and alike deceitful; and, in evading the demand of their abdication, the two rivals were animated by a common ſpirit. They agreed on the neceſſity of a previous interview, but the time, the place, and the manner, could never be aſcertained by mutual conſent. "If "the one advances," ſays a ſervant of Gregory, "the other retreats; the one appears an animal "fearful of the land, the other a creature ap"prehenſive of the water. And thus, for a ſhort "remnant of life and power, will theſe aged

" prieſts endanger the peace and ſalvation of the " Chriſtian world[74]."

Council of Piſa, A.D. 1409.

The Chriſtian world was at length provoked by their obſtinacy and fraud: they were deſerted by their cardinals, who embraced each other as friends and colleagues; and their revolt was ſupported by a numerous aſſembly of prelates and ambaſſadors. With equal juſtice, the council of Piſa depoſed the popes of Rome and Avignon; the conclave was unanimous in the choice of Alexander the fifth, and his vacant ſeat was ſoon filled by a ſimilar election of John the twenty-third, the moſt profligate of mankind. But inſtead of extinguiſhing the ſchiſm, the raſhneſs of the French and Italians had given a third pretender to the chair of St. Peter. Such new claims of the ſynod and conclave were diſputed: three kings, of Germany, Hungary, and Naples, adhered to the cauſe of Gregory the twelfth; and Benedict the thirteenth, himſelf a Spaniard, was acknowledged by the devotion and patriotiſm of that powerful nation. The raſh proceedings of Piſa were corrected by the council of Conſtance; the emperor Sigiſmond acted a conſpicuous part as the advocate or protector of the Catholic church; and the number and weight of civil and eccleſiaſtical members might ſeem to conſtitute the ſtates general of Europe. Of the three popes, John the twenty-third was the firſt victim; he

Council of Conſtance, A.D. 1414—1418.

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[74] Leonardus Brunus Aretinus, one of the revivers of claſſic learning in Italy, who, after ſerving many years as ſecretary in the Roman court, retired to the honourable office of chancellor of the republic of Florence (Fabric. Bibliot. medii Ævi, tom. i. p. 290.). Lenfant has given the verſion of this curious epiſtle (Concile de Piſe, tom. i. p. 192—195.).

fled and was brought back a priſoner: the moſt ſcandalous charges were ſuppreſſed; the vicar of Chriſt was only accuſed of piracy, murder, rape, ſodomy, and inceſt; and after ſubſcribing his own condemnation, he expiated in priſon the imprudence of truſting his perſon to a free city beyond the Alps. Gregory the twelfth, whoſe obedience was reduced to the narrow precincts of Rimini, deſcended with more honour from the throne, and his ambaſſador convened the ſeſſion, in which he renounced the title and authority of lawful pope. To vanquiſh the obſtinacy of Benedict the thirteenth or his adherents, the emperor in perſon undertook a journey from Conſtance to Perpignan. The kings of Caſtille, Arragon, Navarre, and Scotland, obtained an equal and honourable treaty: with the concurrence of the Spaniards, Benedict was depoſed by the council; but the harmleſs old man was left in a ſolitary caſtle to excommunicate twice each day the rebel kingdoms which had deſerted his cauſe. After thus eradicating the remains of the ſchiſm, the ſynod of Conſtance proceeded with ſlow and cautious ſteps, to elect the ſovereign of Rome and the head of the church. On this momentous occaſion, the college of twenty-three cardinals was fortified with thirty deputies; ſix of whom were choſen in each of the five great nations of Chriſtendom, the Italian, the German, the French, the Spaniſh, and the Engliſh[75]: the interference of ſtrangers was

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[75] I cannot overlook this great national cauſe, which was vigorouſly maintained by the Engliſh ambaſſadors againſt thoſe of France. The latter contended, that Chriſtendom was eſſentially diſtributed

into

Election of Martin V.

was ſoftened by their generous preference of an Italian and a Roman; and the hereditary, as well as perſonal, merit of Otho Colonna recommended him to the conclave. Rome accepted with joy and obedience the nobleſt of her ſons, the eccleſiaſtical ſtate was defended by his powerful family, and the elevation of Martin the fifth is the æra of the reſtoration and eſtabliſhment of the popes in the Vatican[76].

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into the four great nations and votes, of Italy, Germany, France, and Spain; and that the leſſer kingdoms (such as England, Denmark, Portugal, &c.) were comprehended under one or other of these great diviſions. The Engliſh aſſerted, that the Britiſh Iſlands, of which they were the head, ſhould be conſidered as a fifth and coordinate nation, with an equal vote; and every argument of truth or fable was introduced to exalt the dignity of their country. Including England, Scotland, Wales, the four kingdoms of Ireland, and the Orknies, the Britiſh Iſlands are decorated with eight royal crowns, and diſcriminated by four or five languages, Engliſh, Welſh, Corniſh, Scotch, Iriſh, &c. The greater iſland from north to ſouth meaſures 800 miles, or 40 days journey; and England alone contains 32 counties, and 52,000 pariſh churches, (a bold account!) beſides cathedrals, colleges, priories, and hoſpitals. They celebrate the miſſion of St. Joſeph of Arimathea, the birth of Conſtantine, and the legantine powers of the two primates, without forgetting the teſtimony of Bartholemy de Glanville (A. D. 1360), who reckons only four Chriſtian kingdoms, 1. of Rome, 2. of Conſtantinople, 3. of Ireland, which had been transferred to the Engliſh monarchs, and, 4. of Spain. Our countrymen prevailed in the council, but the victories of Henry V. added much weight to their arguments. The adverſe pleadings were found at Conſtance by Sir Robert Wingfield, ambaſſador from Henry VIII. to the emperor Maximilian I. and by him printed in 1517 at Louvain. From a Leipſic MS. they are more correctly publiſhed in the Collection of Von der Hardt, tom. v.; but I have only ſeen Lenfant's abſtract of theſe acts (Concile de Conſtance, tom. ii p. 447. 453, &c.).

[76] The hiſtories of the three ſucceſſive councils, Piſa, Conſtance, and Baſil, have been written with a tolerable degree of candor, induſtry,

Martin V. A.D. 1417. Eugenius IV. A.D. 1431. Nicholas V. A.D. 1447.

The royal prerogative of coining money, which had been exerciſed near three hundred years by the ſenate, was *firſt* reſumed by Martin the fifth[77], and his image and ſuperſcription introduce the ſeries of the papal medals. Of his two immediate ſucceſſors, Eugenius the fourth was the *laſt* pope expelled by the tumults of the Roman people[78], and Nicholas the fifth, the *laſt* who was importuned by the preſence of a Roman emperor[79].

Laſt revolt of Rome, A.D. 1434, May 29—October 26.

I. The conflict of Eugenius, with the fathers of Baſil, and the weight or apprehenſion of a new exciſe, emboldened and provoked the Romans to uſurp the temporal government of the city. They roſe in arms, elected ſeven governors of the republic, and a conſtable of the Capitol; impriſoned the pope's nephew; beſieged his perſon in the palace; and ſhot vollies of arrows into his bark as he eſcaped down the Tyber in the habit of a monk. But he ſtill poſſeſſed in the caſtle of St.

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duſtry, and elegance, by a Proteſtant miniſter, M. Lenfant, who retired from France to Berlin. They form ſix volumes in quarto; and as Baſil is the worſt, ſo Conſtance is the beſt, part of the collection.

[77] See the xxviith Diſſertation of the Antiquities of Muratori, and the 1st Inſtruction of the Science des Medailles of the Père Joubert and the Baron de la Baſtie. The Metallic Hiſtory of Martin V. and his ſucceſſors, has been compoſed by two monks, Moulinet a Frenchman, and Bonanni an Italian: but I underſtand, that the firſt part of the ſeries is reſtored from more recent coins.

[78] Beſides the Lives of Eugenius IV. (Rerum Italic. tom. iii. P. i. p. 869. and tom. xxv. p. 256.), the Diaries of Paul Petroni and Stephen Infeſſura, are the beſt original evidence for the revolt of the Romans againſt Eugenius IV. The former, who lived at the time and on the ſpot, ſpeaks the language of a citizen, equally afraid of prieſtly and popular tyranny.

[79] The coronation of Frederic III. is deſcribed by Lenfant (Concile de Baſle, tom. ii. p. 276—288.), from Æneas Sylvius, a ſpectator and actor in that ſplendid ſcene.

Angelo a faithful garriſon and a train of artillery: their batteries inceſſantly thundered on the city, and a bullet more dextrouſly pointed broke down the barricade of the bridge, and ſcattered with a ſingle ſhot the heroes of the republic. Their conſtancy was exhauſted by a rebellion of five months. Under the tyranny of the Ghibeline nobles, the wiſeſt patriots regretted the dominion of the church; and their repentance was unanimous and effectual. The troops of St. Peter again occupied the Capitol; the magiſtrates departed to their homes; the moſt guilty were executed or exiled; and the legate, at the head of two thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe, was ſaluted as the father of the city. The ſynods of Ferrara and Florence, the fear or reſentment of Eugenius, prolonged his abſence: he was received by a ſubmiſſive people; but the pontiff underſtood from the acclamations of his triumphal entry, that to ſecure their loyalty and his own repoſe, he muſt grant without delay the abolition of the odious exciſe.

II. Rome was reſtored, adorned, and enlightened, by the peaceful reign of Nicholas the fifth. In the midſt of theſe laudable occupations, the pope was alarmed by the approach of Frederic the third of Auſtria; though his fears could not be juſtified by the character or the power of the Imperial candidate. After drawing his military force to the metropolis, and impoſing the beſt ſecurity of oaths[80] and treaties,

Laſt coronation of a German emperor, Frederic III. A.D. 1452, March 18.

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[80] The oath of fidelity impoſed on the emperor by the pope, is recorded and ſanctified in the Clementines (l. ii. tit. ix.); and Æneas Sylvius, who objects to this new demand, could not foreſee, that in a few years he ſhould aſcend the throne, and imbibe the maxims, of Boniface VIII.

treaties, Nicholas received with a ſmiling countenance the faithful advocate and vaſſal of the church. So tame were the times, ſo feeble was the Auſtrian, that the pomp of his coronation was accompliſhed with order and harmony: but the ſuperfluous honour was ſo diſgraceful to an independent nation, that his ſucceſſors have excuſed themſelves from the toilſome pilgrimage to the Vatican; and reſt their Imperial title on the choice of the electors of Germany.

The ſtatutes and government of Rome.

A citizen has remarked, with pride and pleaſure, that the king of the Romans, after paſſing with a ſlight ſalute the cardinals and prelates who met him at the gate, diſtinguiſhed the dreſs and perſon of the ſenator of Rome; and in this laſt farewel, the pageants of the empire and the republic were claſped in a friendly embrace[81]. According to the laws of Rome[82], her firſt magiſtrate was required to be a doctor of laws, an alien, of a place at leaſt forty miles from the city; with whoſe inhabitants he muſt not be connected in the third canonical degree of blood or alliance. The election was annual: a ſevere ſcrutiny was inſtituted into the conduct of the departing ſenator; nor could he be recalled to the ſame office till after the expiration of two years. A liberal ſalary of three thouſand florins was aſſigned for his expence and reward; and his public appearance repreſented the majeſty of the republic. His robes were of gold brocade or crimſon velvet, or in the ſummer ſeaſon of a lighter ſilk; he bore in his hand an ivory ſceptre; the ſound of trumpets announced his approach; and his ſolemn ſteps were preceded at leaſt by four lictors or attendants, whoſe red wands were enveloped with bands or ſtreamers of the golden colour or livery of the city. His oath in the Capitol proclaims his right and duty, to obſerve and aſſert the laws, to control the proud, to protect the poor, and to exerciſe juſtice and mercy within the extent of his juriſdiction. In theſe uſeful functions he was aſſiſted by three learned ſtrangers; the two *collaterals*, and the judge of criminal appeals: their frequent trials of robberies, rapes, and murders, are atteſted by the laws; and the weakneſs of theſe laws connives at the licentiouſneſs of private feuds and armed aſſociations for mutual defence. But the ſenator was confined to the adminiſtration of juſtice: the Capitol, the treaſury, and the government of the city and its territory were entruſted to the three *conſervators*, who were changed four times in each year: the militia of the thirteen regions aſſembled under the banners of their reſpective chiefs, or *caporioni*; and the firſt of theſe was diſtinguiſhed by the name and dignity of the *prior*. The popular legiſlature conſiſted of the ſecret and the common councils of the Romans. The former was compoſed of the magiſtrates and their immediate predeceſſors, with ſome fiſcal and legal officers, and three claſſes of thirteen, twenty-ſix, and forty, counſellors; amounting in the whole to about one hundred and twenty perſons. In the common council all male citizens had a right to vote; and the value of their privilege was enhanced by the care with which any foreigners were prevented from uſurping the title and character of Romans. The tumult of a democracy was checked by wiſe and jealous precautions: except the magiſtrates, none could propoſe a queſtion; none were permitted to ſpeak, except from an open pulpit or tribunal; all diſorderly acclamations were ſuppreſſed; the ſenſe of the majority was decided by a ſecret ballot; and their decrees were promulgated in the venerable name of the Roman ſenate and people. It would not be eaſy to aſſign a period in which this theory of government has been reduced to accurate and conſtant practice, ſince the eſtabliſhment of order has been gradually connected with the decay of liberty. But in the year one thouſand five hundred and eighty, the ancient ſtatutes were collected, methodiſed in three books, and adapted to preſent uſe, under the pontificate, and with the approbation, of Gregory the thirteenth[83]: this civil and criminal code is the modern law of the city; and, if the popular aſſemblies have been aboliſhed, a foreign ſenator, with the three conſervators, ſtill reſides in the palace of the Capitol[84]. The policy of the Cæſars has been repeated by the popes; and the biſhop of Rome affected to maintain the form of a republic, while he reigned with the abſolute powers of a temporal, as well as ſpiritual, monarch.

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[81] Lo ſenatore di Roma, veſtito di brocarto con quella beretta, e con quelle maniche, et ornamenti di pelle, co' quali va alle feſte di Teſtaccio e Nagone, might eſcape the eye of Æneas Sylvius, but he is viewed with admiration and complacency by the Roman citizen (Diario di Stephano Infeſſura, p. 1133.).

[82] See in the ſtatutes of Rome, the *ſenator and three judges* (l. i. c. 3—14), the *conſervators* (l. i. c. 15, 16, 17. l. iii. c. 4.), the *caporioni* (l. i. c. 18. l. iii. c. 8.), the *ſecret council* (l. iii. c. 2.), the *common council* (l. iii. c. 3.). The title of *feuds, defiances, acts of violence,* &c. is ſpread through many a chapter (c. 14—40.) of the ſecond book.

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[83] *Statuta almæ Urbis Romæ Auctoritate S. D. N. Gregorii* XIII. *Pont. Max. a Senatu Populoque Rom. reformata et edita. Romæ*, 1580, *in folio*. The obſolete, repugnant ſtatutes of antiquity, were confounded in five books, and Lucas Pætus, a lawyer and

Conſpiracy of Porcaro, A.D. 1453, January 9.

It is an obvious truth, that the times muſt be ſuited to extraordinary characters, and that the genius of Cromwell or Retz might now expire in obſcurity. The political enthuſiaſm of Rienzi had exalted him to a throne; the ſame enthuſiaſm, in the next century, conducted his imitator to the gallows. The birth of Stephen Porcaro was noble, his reputation ſpotleſs; his tongue was armed with eloquence, his mind was enlightened with learning; and he aſpired, beyond the aim of vulgar ambition, to free his country and immortalize his name. The dominion of prieſts is moſt odious to a liberal ſpirit: every ſcruple was removed by the recent knowledge of the fable and forgery of Conſtantine's donation; Petrarch was now the oracle of the Italians; and as often as Porcaro revolved the ode which deſcribes the

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and our civilian, was appointed to act as the modern Tribonian. Yet I regret the old code, with the rugged cruſt of freedom and barbariſm.

[84] In my time (1765), and M. Groſley's (Obſervations ſur l'Italie, tom. ii. p. 361.), the ſenator of Rome was M. Bielke, a noble Swede, and a proſelyte to the Catholic faith. The pope's right to appoint the ſenator and the conſervator is implied, rather than affirmed, in the Statutes

patriot and hero of Rome, he applied to himſelf the viſions of the prophetic bard. His firſt trial of the popular feelings was at the funeral of Eugenius the fourth: in an elaborate ſpeech he called the Romans to liberty and arms; and they liſtened with apparent pleaſure, till Porcaro was interrupted and anſwered by a grave advocate, who pleaded for the church and ſtate. By every law the ſeditious orator was guilty of treaſon; but the benevolence of the new pontiff, who viewed his character with pity and eſteem, attempted by an honourable office to convert the patriot into a friend. The inflexible Roman returned from Anagni with an increaſe of reputation and zeal; and, on the firſt opportunity, the games of the place Navona, he tried to inflame the caſual diſpute of ſome boys and mechanics into a general riſing of the people. Yet the humane Nicholas was ſtill averſe to accept the forfeit of his life; and the traitor was removed from the ſcene of temptation to Bologna, with a liberal allowance for his ſupport, and the eaſy obligation of preſenting himſelf each day before the governor of the city. But Porcaro had learned from the younger Brutus, that with tyrants no faith or gratitude ſhould be obſerved: the exile declaimed againſt the arbitrary ſentence; a party and a conſpiracy was gradually formed; his nephew, a daring youth, aſſembled a band of volunteers; and on the appointed evening a feaſt was prepared at his houſe for the friends of the republic. Their leader, who had eſcaped from Bologna, appeared among them in a robe of purple and gold: his voice, his countenance, his geſtures, beſpoke the man who had devoted his life or death to the glorious cauſe. In a ſtudied oration, he expatiated on the motives and the means of their enterpriſe: the name and liberties of Rome; the ſloth and pride of their eccleſiaſtical tyrants; the active or paſſive conſent of their fellow-citizens; three hundred ſoldiers and four hundred exiles, long exerciſed in arms or in wrongs; the licence of revenge to edge their ſwords, and a million of ducats to reward their victory. It would be eaſy (he ſaid), on the next day, the feſtival of the Epiphany, to ſeize the pope and his cardinals before the doors, or at the altar, of St. Peter's; to lead them in chains under the walls of St. Angelo; to extort by the threat of their inſtant death a ſurrender of the caſtle; to aſcend the vacant Capitol; to ring the alarm-bell; and to reſtore in a popular aſſembly the ancient republic of Rome. While he triumphed, he was already betrayed. The ſenator, with a ſtrong guard, inveſted the houſe: the nephew of Porcaro cut his way through the crowd; but the unfortunate Stephen was drawn from a cheſt, lamenting that his enemies had anticipated by three hours the execution of his deſign. After ſuch manifeſt and repeated guilt, even the mercy of Nicholas was ſilent. Porcaro, and nine of his accomplices, were hanged without the benefit of the ſacraments; and amidſt the fears and invectives of the papal court, the Romans pitied, and almoſt applauded, theſe martyrs of their country[65]. But their applauſe was mute, their pity ineffectual, their liberty for ever extinct; and, if they have ſince riſen in a vacancy of the throne or a ſcarcity of bread, ſuch accidental tumults may be found in the boſom of the moſt abject ſervitude.

Laſt diſorders of the nobles of Rome.

But the independence of the nobles, which was fomented by diſcord, ſurvived the freedom of the commons, which muſt be founded in union. A privilege of rapine and oppreſſion was long maintained by the barons of Rome; their houſes were a fortreſs and a ſanctuary: and the ferocious train of banditti and criminals whom they protected from the law, repaid the hoſpitality with the ſervice of their ſwords and daggers. The private intereſt of the pontiffs, or their nephews, ſometimes involved them in theſe domeſtic feuds. Under the reign of Sixtus the fourth, Rome was diſtracted by the battles and ſieges of the rival houſes: after the conflagration of his palace, the protonotary Colonna was tortured and beheaded; and Savelli, his captive friend, was murdered on the ſpot, for refuſing to join in the acclamations of the victorious Urſini[86]. But the popes no longer trembled in the Vatican: they had ſtrength to command, if they had reſolution to claim, the obedience of their ſubjects; and the ſtrangers, who obſerved theſe partial diſorders, admired the eaſy taxes and wiſe adminiſtration of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate[87].

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[65] Beſides the curious though conciſe narrative of Machiavel (Iſtoria Florentina, l. vi. Opere, tom. i. p. 210, 211. edit. Londra, 1747, in 4to), the Porcarian conſpiracy is related in the Diary of Stephen Infeſſura (Rer. Ital. tom. iii. P. ii. p. 1134, 1135.), and in a ſeparate tract by Leo Baptiſta Alberti (Rer. Ital. tom. xxv. p. 609—614.). It is amuſing to compare the ſtyle and ſentiments of the courtier and citizen. Facinus profectò quo . . . . neque periculo horribilius, neque audaciâ deteſtabilius, neque crudelitate tetrius, a quoquam perditiſſimo uſpiam excogitatum ſit. . . . Perdette la vita quell' huomo da bene, e amatore dello bene et libertà di Roma.

The popes acquire the abſolute dominion of Rome, A.D. 1500, &c.

The ſpiritual thunders of the Vatican depend on the force of opinion: and, if that opinion be ſupplanted by reaſon or paſſion, the ſound may idly waſte itſelf in the air; and the helpleſs prieſt is expoſed to the brutal violence of a noble or a plebeian adverſary. But after their return from Avignon, the keys of St. Peter were guarded by the ſword of St. Paul. Rome was commanded by an impregnable citadel: the uſe of cannon is a powerful engine againſt popular ſeditions: a regular force of cavalry and infantry was enliſted under the banners of the pope; his ample revenues ſupplied the reſources of war; and, from the extent of his domain, he could bring down on a rebellious city an army of hoſtile neighbours

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[86] The diſorders of Rome, which were much inflamed by the partiality of Sixtus IV. are expoſed in the Diaries of two ſpectators, Stephen Infeſſura, and an anonymous citizen. See the troubles of the year 1484, and the death of the protonotary Colonna, in tom. iii. P. ii. p. 1083. 1158.

[87] Eſt toute la terre de l'egliſe troublée pour cette partialité (des Colonnes et des Urſins), comme nous dirions Luce et Grammont, ou en Hollande Houc et Caballan; et quand ce ne ſeroit ce differend la terre de l'egliſe ſeroit la plus heureuſe habitation pour les ſujets, qui ſoit dans tout le monde (car ils ne payent ni tailles ni gueres autres choſes), et ſeroient toujours bien conduits (car toujours les papes ſont ſages et bien conſeillés); mais très ſouvent en advient de grands et cruels meurtres et pilleries.

and loyal ſubjects[88]. Since the union of the dutchies of Ferrara and Urbino, the eccleſiaſtical ſtate extends from the Mediterranean to the Adriatic, and from the confines of Naples to the banks of the Po; and as early as the ſixteenth century, the greater part of that ſpacious and fruitful country acknowledged the lawful claims and temporal ſovereignty of the Roman pontiffs. Their claims were readily deduced from the genuine, or fabulous, donations of the darker ages: the ſucceſſive ſteps of their final ſettlement would engage us too far in the tranſactions of Italy, and even of Europe; the crimes of Alexander the ſixth, the martial operations of Julius the ſecond, and the liberal policy of Leo the tenth, a theme which has been adorned by the pens of the nobleſt hiſtorians of the times[89]. In the firſt period of their conqueſts, till the expedition of Charles the eighth, the popes might ſucceſsfully wreſtle with the adjacent princes and ſtates, whoſe military force was equal, or inferior, to their own. But as ſoon as the monarchs of France, Germany, and Spain, contended with gigantic arms for the dominion of Italy, they ſupplied with art the deficiency of ſtrength; and concealed, in a labyrinth of wars and treaties, their aſpiring views, and the immortal hope of chacing the Barbarians beyond the Alps. The nice balance of the Vatican was often ſubverted by the ſoldiers of the North and Weſt, who were united under the ſtandard of Charles the fifth: the feeble and fluctuating policy of Clement the ſeventh expoſed his perſon and dominions to the conqueror; and Rome was abandoned ſeven months to a lawleſs army, more cruel and rapacious than the Goths and Vandals[90]. After this ſevere leſſon, the popes contracted their ambition, which was almoſt ſatisfied, reſumed the character of a common parent, and abſtained from all offenſive hoſtilities, except in an haſty quarrel, when the vicar of Chriſt and the Turkiſh ſultan were armed at the ſame time againſt the kingdom of Naples[91]. The French and Germans at length withdrew from the field of battle: Milan, Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, and the ſea-coaſt of Tuſcany, were firmly poſſeſſed by the Spaniards; and it became their intereſt to maintain the peace and

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[88] By the œconomy of Sixtus V. the revenue of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate was raiſed to two millions and a half of Roman crowns (Vita, tom. ii. p. 291—296.); and ſo regular was the military eſtabliſhment, that in one month Clement VIII. could invade the dutchy of Ferrara with three thouſand horſe and twenty thouſand foot (tom. iii. p. 64.). Since that time (A. D. 1597), the papal arms are happily ruſted; but the revenue muſt have gained ſome nominal increaſe.

[89] More eſpecially by Guicciardini and Machiavel; in the general hiſtory of the former, in the Florentine hiſtory, the Prince, and the political diſcourſes of the latter. Theſe, with their worthy ſucceſſors, Fra Paolo and Davila, were juſtly eſteemed the firſt hiſtorians of modern languages, till, in the preſent age, Scotland aroſe, to diſpute the prize with Italy herſelf.

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[90] In the hiſtory of the Gothic ſiege, I have compared the Barbarians with the ſubjects of Charles V. (vol. v. p. 319—322.); an anticipation, which, like that of the Tartar conqueſts, I indulged with the leſs ſcruple, as I could ſcarcely hope to reach the concluſion of my work.

[91] The ambitious and feeble hoſtilities of the Caraffa pope, Paul IV. may be ſeen in Thuanus (l. xvi—xviii.) and Giannone (tom. iv. p. 149—163.). Thoſe Catholic bigots, Philip II. and the duke of Alva, preſumed to ſeparate the Roman prince from the vicar of Chriſt: yet the holy character, which would have ſanctified his victory, was decently applied to protect his defeat.

dependence

dependence of Italy, which continued almoſt without diſturbance from the middle of the ſixteenth to the opening of the eighteenth century. The Vatican was ſwayed and protected by the religious policy of the Catholic king: his prejudice and intereſt diſpoſed him in every diſpute to ſupport the prince againſt the people; and inſtead of the encouragement, the aid, and the aſylum, which they obtained from the adjacent ſtates, the friends of liberty, or the enemies of law, were encloſed on all ſides within the iron circle of deſpotiſm. The long habits of obedience and education ſubdued the turbulent ſpirit of the nobles and commons of Rome. The barons forgot the arms and factions of their anceſtors, and inſenſibly became the ſervants of luxury and government. Inſtead of maintaining a crowd of tenants and followers, the produce of their eſtates was conſumed in the private expences, which multiply the pleaſures, and diminiſh the power, of the lord[92]. The Colonna and Urſini vied with each other in the decoration of their palaces and chapels; and their antique ſplendour was rivalled or ſurpaſſed by the ſudden opulence of the papal families. In Rome the voice of freedom and diſcord is no longer heard; and, inſtead of the foaming torrent, a ſmooth and ſtagnant lake reflects the image of idleneſs and ſervitude.

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[92] This gradual change of manners and expence, is admirably explained by Dr. Adam Smith (Wealth of Nations, vol. i. p. 4[illegible]—5[illegible]4), who proves, perhaps too ſeverely, that the moſt ſalutary effects have flowed from the meaneſt and moſt ſelfiſh cauſes.

The eccleſiaſtical government.

A Chriſtian, a philoſopher[93], and a patriot, will be equally ſcandalized by the temporal kingdom of the clergy; and the local majeſty of Rome, the remembrance of her conſuls and triumphs, may ſeem to embitter the ſenſe, and aggravate the ſhame, of her ſlavery. If we calmly weigh the merits and defects of the eccleſiaſtical government, it may be praiſed in its preſent ſtate as a mild, decent, and tranquil ſyſtem, exempt from the dangers of a minority, the ſallies of youth, the expences of luxury, and the calamities of war. But theſe advantages are overbalanced by a frequent, perhaps a ſeptennial, election of a ſovereign, who is ſeldom a native of the country: the reign of a *young* ſtateſman of threeſcore, in the decline of his life and abilities, without hope to accompliſh, and without children to inherit, the labours of his tranſitory reign. The ſucceſsful candidate is drawn from the church, and even the convent; from the mode of education and life the moſt adverſe to reaſon, humanity, and freedom. In the trammels of ſervile faith, he has learned to believe becauſe it is abſurd, to revere all that is contemptible, and to deſpiſe whatever might deſerve the eſteem of a rational being; to puniſh error as a crime, to reward mortification and celibacy, as the firſt of virtues; to place the ſaints of the kalendar[94] above the heroes of Rome and the ſages of Athens; and to conſider the miſſal, or the crucifix, as more uſeful inſtruments than the plough or the loom. In the office of nuncio, or the rank of cardinal, he may acquire ſome knowledge of the world, but the primitive ſtain will adhere to his mind and manners; from ſtudy and experience he may ſuſpect the myſtery of his profeſſion; but the ſacerdotal artiſt will imbibe ſome portion of the bigotry which he inculcates. The genius of Sixtus the fifth[95] burſt from the gloom of a Franciſcan cloiſter. In a reign of five years, he exterminated the outlaws and banditti, aboliſhed the *profane* ſanctuaries of Rome[96], formed a naval and military force, reſtored and emulated the monuments of antiquity, and after a liberal uſe and large encreaſe of the revenue, left five millions of crowns

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[93] Mr. Hume (Hiſt. of England, vol. i. p. 389.) too haſtily concludes, that if the civil and eccleſiaſtical powers be united in the ſame perſon, it is of little moment whether he be ſtyled prince or prelate, ſince the temporal character will always predominate.

[94] A proteſtant may diſdain the unworthy preference of St. Francis or St. Dominic, but he will not raſhly condemn the zeal or

Sixtus V.
A. D. 1585—1590.

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judgment of Sixtus V. who placed the ſtatues of the apoſtles, St. Peter and St. Paul, on the vacant columns of Trajan and Antonine.

[95] A wandering Italian, Gregorio Leti, has given the Vita di Sisto-Quinto (Amſtel. 1721, 3 vols. in 12mo), a copious and amuſing work, but which does not command our abſolute confidence. Yet the character of the man, and the principal facts, are ſupported by the Annals of Spondanus and Muratori (A. D. 1585—1590), and the contemporary hiſtory of the great Thuanus (l. lxxxii. c. 1, 2. l. lxxxiv. c. 10. l. c. c. 8).

[96] Theſe privileged places, the *quartieri* or *franchiſes*, were adopted from the Roman nobles by the foreign miniſters. Julius II. had once aboliſhed the abominandum et deteſtandum franchitiarum hujuſmodi nomen; and after Sixtus V. they again revived. I cannot diſcern either the juſtice or magnanimity of Louis XIV. who in 1687 ſent his ambaſſador, the marquis de Lavardin, to Rome, with an armed force of a thouſand officers, guards, and domeſtics, to maintain this iniquitous claim, and inſult pope Innocent XI. in the heart of his capital (Vita di Sisto V. tom. iii. p. 260—278. Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. xv. p. 494—496, and Voltaire, Siecle de Louis XIV. tom. i. c. 14. p. 58, 59).

in the caſtle of St. Angelo. But his juſtice was ſullied with cruelty, his activity was prompted by the ambition of conqueſt; after his deceaſe, the abuſes revived; the treaſure was diſſipated; he entailed on poſterity thirty-five new taxes and the venality of offices; and, after his death, his ſtatue was demoliſhed by an ungrateful, or an injured, people[97]. The wild and original character of Sixtus the fifth ſtands alone in the ſeries of the pontiffs: the maxims and effects of their temporal government may be collected from the poſitive and comparative view of the arts and philoſophy, the agriculture and trade, the wealth and population, of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate. For myſelf, it is my wiſh to depart in charity with all mankind, nor am I willing, in theſe laſt moments, to offend even the pope and clergy of Rome[98].

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[97] This outrage produced a decree, which was inſcribed on marble, and placed in the Capitol. It is expreſſed in a ſtyle of manly ſimplicity and freedom: Si quis, ſive privatus, ſive magiſtratum gerens de collocandâ vivo pontifici ſtatuâ mentionem facere auſit, legitimo S. P. Q. R. decreto in perpetuum infamis et publicorum munerum expers eſto. MDXC. menſe Auguſto (Vita di Siſto V. tom. iii. p. 469.). I believe that this decree is ſtill obſerved, and I know that every monarch who deſerves a ſtatue, ſhould himſelf impoſe the prohibition.

[98] The hiſtories of the church, Italy, and Chriſtendom, have contributed to the chapter which I now conclude. In the original Lives of the Popes, we often diſcover the city and republic of Rome; and the events of the xivth and xvth centuries are preſerved in the rude and domeſtic chronicles which I have carefully inſpected, and ſhall recapitulate in the order of time.

1. Monaldeſchi (Ludovici Boncomitis) Fragmenta Annalium Roman. A. D. 1328, in the Scriptores Rerum Italicarum of Muratori, tom. xii. p. 525. N. B. The credit of this fragment is ſomewhat hurt by a ſingular interpolation, in which the author relates *his own death* at the age of 115 years.

2. Fragmenta Hiſtoriæ Romanæ (vulgo Thomas Fortifiocca), in Romana Dialecto vulgari (A. D. 1327—1354, in Muratori,

Antiquitat.

CHAP. LXX.

Antiquitat. medii Ævi, tom. iii. p. 247—548. [illegible] the authentic groundwork of the history of Rienzi.

3. Delphini (Gentilis) Diarium Romanum (A.D. 1370—1410), in the Rerum Italicarum, tom. iii. P. ii. p. 846.

4. Antonii (Petri) Diarium Rom. (A.D. 1404—1417), tom. xxiv. p. 969.

5. Petroni (Pauli) Miscellanea Historica Romana (A.D. 1433—1446), tom. xxiv. p. 1101.

6. Volaterrani (Jacob.) Diarium Rom. (A.D. 1472—1484), tom. xxiii. p. 81.

7. Anonymi Diarium Urbis Romae (A.D. 1481—1492), tom. iii. P. ii. p. 1069.

8. Infessurae (Stephani) Diarium Romanum (A.D. 1294, or 1378—1494), tom. iii. P. ii. p. 1109.

9. Historia Arcana Alexandri VI. sive Excerpta ex Diario Joh. Burcardi (A.D. 1492—1503), edita a Godefr. Gulielm. Leibnizio, Hanover, 1697, in 4to. [illegible]

Except [illegible] Milan, 1723—1738, 1751. A volume of chronological and [illegible]

[illegible]

CHAP. LXXI.

Proſpect of the Ruins of Rome in the Fifteenth Century.—Four Cauſes of Decay and Deſtruction.—Example of the Coliſeum.—Renovation of the City.—Concluſion of the whole Work.

CHAP. LXXI.

View and diſcourſe of Poggius from the Capitoline hill, A. D. 1430.

IN the laſt days of pope Eugenius the fourth, two of his ſervants, the learned Poggius[1] and a friend, aſcended the Capitoline hill; repoſed themſelves among the ruins of columns and temples; and viewed from that commanding ſpot the wide and various proſpect of deſolation[2]. The place and the object gave ample ſcope for moraliſing on the viciſſitudes of fortune, which ſpares neither man nor the proudeſt of his works, which buries empires and cities in a common grave; and it was agreed, that in proportion to her former greatneſs, the fall of Rome was the more awful and deplorable. "Her primeval ſtate, "ſuch as ſhe might appear in a remote age, when "Evander entertained the ſtranger of Troy[3], has

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[1] I have already (notes 50, 51. on chap. 65.) mentioned the age, character, and writings of Poggius; and particularly noticed the date of this elegant moral lecture on the varieties of fortune.

[2] Conſedimus in ipſis Tarpeiæ arcis ruinis, pone ingens portæ cujuſdam, ut puto, templi, marmoreum limen, pluriſmaſque paſſim confractas columnas, unde magnâ ex parte proſpectus urbis patet (p. 5.).

[3] Æneid viii. 97—369. This ancient picture, ſo artfully introduced, and ſo exquiſitely finiſhed, muſt have been highly intereſting to an inhabitant of Rome; and our early ſtudies allow us to ſympathiſe in the feelings of a Roman.

"been delineated by the fancy of Virgil. This Tarpeian rock was then a ſavage and ſolitary thicket: in the time of the poet, it was crowned with the golden roofs of a temple; the temple is overthrown, the gold has been pillaged, the wheel of fortune has accompliſhed her revolution, and the ſacred ground is again disfigured with thorns and brambles. The hill of the Capitol, on which we ſit, was formerly the head of the Roman empire, the citadel of the earth, the terror of kings; illuſtrated by the footſteps of ſo many triumphs, enriched with the ſpoils and tributes of ſo many nations. This ſpectacle of the world, how is it fallen! how changed! how defaced! the path of victory is obliterated by vines, and the benches of the ſenators are concealed by a dunghill. Caſt your eyes on the Palatine hill, and ſeek among the ſhapeleſs and enormous fragments, the marble theatre, the obeliſks, the coloſſal ſtatues, the porticoes of Nero's palace: ſurvey the other hills of the city, the vacant ſpace is interrupted only by ruins and gardens. The forum of the Roman people, where they aſſembled to enact their laws and elect their magiſtrates, is now encloſed for the cultivation of pot-herbs, or thrown open for the reception of ſwine and buffaloes. The public and private edifices, that were founded for eternity, lie proſtrate, naked, and broken, like the limbs of a mighty giant; and the ruin is the more viſible, from the ſtupendous "relics that have ſurvived the injuries of time and "fortune[4]."

His deſcription of the ruins.

Theſe relics are minutely deſcribed by Poggius, one of the firſt who raiſed his eyes from the monuments of legendary, to thoſe of claſſic, ſuperſtition[5]. 1. Beſides a bridge, an arch, a ſepulchre, and the pyramid of Ceſtius, he could diſcern, of the age of the republic, a double row of vaults in the ſalt-office of the Capitol, which were inſcribed with the name and munificence of Catulus. 2. Eleven temples were viſible in ſome degree, from the perfect form of the Pantheon, to the three arches and a marble column of the temple of peace, which Veſpaſian erected after the civil wars and the Jewiſh triumph. 3. Of the number, which he raſhly defines, of ſeven *thermæ* or public baths, none were ſufficiently entire to repreſent the uſe and diſtribution of the ſeveral parts; but thoſe of Diocletian and Antoninus Caracalla ſtill retained the titles of the founders, and aſtoniſhed the curious ſpectator, who, in obſerving their ſolidity and extent, the variety of marbles, the ſize and multitude of the columns, compared the labour and expence with the uſe and importance. Of the baths of Conſtantine, of Alexander, of Domitian, or rather of Titus, ſome veſtige might yet be found. 4. The triumphal arches of Titus, Severus, and Conſtantine, were entire, both the ſtructure and the inſcriptions; a falling fragment was honoured with the name of Trajan; and two arches, then extant, in the Flaminian way, have been aſcribed to the baſer memory of Fauſtina and Gallienus. 5. After the wonder of the Coliſeum, Poggius might have overlooked a ſmall amphitheatre of brick, moſt probably for the uſe of the prætorian camp: the theatres of Marcellus and Pompey were occupied in a great meaſure by public and private buildings; and in the Circus, Agonalis and Maximus, little more than the ſituation and the form could be inveſtigated. 6. The columns of Trajan and Antonine were ſtill erect; but the Egyptian obeliſks were broken or buried. A people of gods and heroes, the workmanſhip of art, was reduced to one equeſtrian figure of gilt braſs, and to five marble ſtatues, of which the moſt conſpicuous were the two horſes of Phidias and Praxiteles. 7. The two mauſoleums or ſepulchres of Auguſtus and Hadrian could not totally be loſt; but the former was only viſible as a mound of earth; and the latter, the caſtle of St. Angelo, had acquired the name and appearance of a modern fortreſs. With the addition of ſome ſeparate and nameleſs columns, ſuch were the remains of the ancient city: for the marks of a more recent ſtructure might be detected in the walls, which formed a circumference of ten miles, included three hundred and ſeventy-nine turrets, and opened into the country by thirteen gates.

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[4] Capitolium adeo . . . immutatum ut vineæ in ſenatorum ſubſellia ſucceſſerint, ſtercorum ac purgamentorum receptaculum factum. Reſpice ad Palatinum montem . . . . vaſta rudera . . . . cæteros colles perluſtra omnia vacua ædificiis, ruinis vineiſque oppleta conſpicies (Poggius de Varietat. Fortunæ, p. 21.).

[5] See Poggius, p. 8—22.

Gradual decay of Rome.

This melancholy picture was drawn above nine hundred years after the fall of the Weſtern empire, and even of the Gothic kingdom of Italy. A long period of diſtreſs and anarchy, in which empire, and arts, and riches, had migrated from the banks of the Tyber, was incapable of reſtoring or adorning the city; and, as all that is human muſt retrograde if it do not advance, every ſucceſſive age muſt have haſtened the ruin of the works of antiquity. To meaſure the progreſs of decay, and to aſcertain at each æra, the ſtate of each edifice, would be an endleſs and uſeleſs labour, and I ſhall content myſelf with two obſervations which will introduce a ſhort enquiry into the general cauſes and effects. 1. Two hundred years before the eloquent complaint of Poggius, an anonymous writer compoſed a deſcription of Rome[6]. His ignorance may repeat the ſame objects under ſtrange and fabulous names. Yet this barbarous topographer had eyes and ears, he could obſerve the viſible remains, he could liſten to the tradition of the people, and he diſtinctly enumerates ſeven theatres, eleven baths, twelve arches, and eighteen palaces, of which many had diſappeared before the time of Poggius. It is apparent, that many ſtately monuments of antiquity ſurvived till a late period[7], and that the principles of deſtruction acted with vigorous and encreaſing energy in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. 2. The ſame reflection muſt be applied to the three laſt ages; and we ſhould vainly ſeek the Septizonium of Severus[8]; which is celebrated by Petrarch, and the antiquarians of the ſixteenth century. While the Roman edifices were ſtill entire, the firſt blows, however weighty and impetuous, were reſiſted by the ſolidity of the maſs and the harmony of the parts; but the ſlighteſt touch would precipitate the fragments of arches and columns, that already nodded to their fall.

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[6] Liber de Mirabilibus Romæ, ex Regiſtro Nicolai Cardinalis de Arragoniâ, in Bibliothecâ St. Iſidori Armario IV. N° 69. This treatiſe, with ſome ſhort but pertinent notes, has been publiſhed by Montfaucon (Diarium Italicum, p. 283—301.), who thus delivers his own critical opinion: Scriptor xiii^{mi} circiter ſæculi, ut ibidem notatur; antiquariæ rei imperitus, et, ut ab illo ævo, nugis et anilibus fabellis refertus: ſed, quia monumenta quæ iis temporibus Romæ ſupererant pro modulo recenſet, non parum inde lucis mutuabitur qui Romanis antiquitatibus indagandis operam navabit (p. 283.).

[7] The Pere Mabillon (Analecta, tom. iv. p. 502.) has publiſhed an anonymous pilgrim of the ixth century, who, in his viſit

[illegible]

Four cauſes of deſtruction:

After a diligent enquiry, I can diſcern four principal cauſes of the ruin of Rome, which continued to operate in a period of more than a thouſand years. I. The injuries of time and nature. II. The hoſtile attacks of the Barbarians and Chriſtians. III. The uſe and abuſe of the materials. And, IV. The domeſtic quarrels of the Romans.

I. The injuries of nature;

I. The art of man is able to conſtruct monuments far more permanent than the narrow ſpan of his own exiſtence: yet theſe monuments, like himſelf, are periſhable and frail; and in the boundleſs annals of time his life and his labours muſt equally be meaſured as a fleeting moment. Of a ſimple and ſolid edifice, it is not eaſy however to circumſcribe the duration. As the won-

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round the churches and holy places of Rome, [illegible] on ſeveral buildings, eſpecially porticoes, which had diſappeared before the xiiith century.

[8] On the Septizonium, ſee the Mémoires ſur Pétrarque (tom. i. p. 325.), Donatus (p. 338.), and Nardini (p. 117. 414.).

ders of ancient days, the pyramids[9] attracted the curioſity of the ancients: an hundred generations, the leaves of autumn[10], have dropt into the grave; and after the fall of the Pharaohs and Ptolemies, the Cæſars and caliphs, the ſame pyramids ſtand erect and unſhaken above the floods of the Nile. A complex figure of various and minute parts is more acceſſible to injury and decay; and the ſilent lapſe of time is often accelerated by hurricanes and earthquakes, by fires and inundations. The air and earth have doubtleſs been ſhaken; and the lofty turrets of Rome have tottered from their foundations; but the ſeven hills do not appear to be placed on the great cavities of the globe; nor has the city, in any age, been expoſed to the convulſions of nature, which, in the climate of Antioch, Liſbon, or Lima, have crumbled in a few moments the works of ages into duſt. Fire is the moſt powerful agent of life and death: the rapid miſchief may be kindled and propagated by the induſtry or negligence of mankind; and every period of the Roman annals is marked by the repetition of ſimilar calamities. A memorable conflagration, the guilt or misfortune of Nero's reign, continued, though with unequal fury, either ſix, or

hurricanes and earthquakes;

fires;

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[9] The age of the pyramids is remote and unknown, ſince Diodorus Siculus (tom. i. l. i. c. 44. p. 72.) is unable to decide whether they were conſtructed 1000, or 3400, years before the clxxxth Olympiad. Sir John Marſham's contracted ſcale of the Egyptian dynaſties would fix them about 2000 years before Chriſt (Canon Chronicus, p. 47.).

[10] See the ſpeech of Glaucus in the Iliad (Z. 146.). This natural but melancholy image is familiar to Homer.

nine days[11]. Innumerable buildings, crowded in cloſe and crooked ſtreets, ſupplied perpetual fewel for the flames; and when they ceaſed, four only of the fourteen regions were left entire; three were totally deſtroyed, and ſeven were deformed by the relics of ſmoking and lacerated edifices[12]. In the full meridian of empire, the metropolis aroſe with freſh beauty from her aſhes; yet the memory of the old deplored their irreparable loſſes, the arts of Greece, the trophies of victory, the monuments of primitive or fabulous antiquity. In the days of diſtreſs and anarchy, every wound is mortal, every fall irretrievable; nor can the damage be reſtored either by the public care of government or the activity of private intereſt. Yet two cauſes may be alleged, which render the calamity of fire more deſtructive to a flouriſhing than a decayed city. 1. The more combuſtible materials of brick, timber, and metals, are firſt melted or conſumed; but the flames may play without injury or effect on the naked walls, and maſſy arches, that have been deſpoiled of their ornaments. It is among the common and plebeian habitations, that a miſchievous ſpark is moſt eaſily blown to a conflagration; but as ſoon as they are devoured, the greater edifices which have reſiſted or eſcaped, are left as ſo many iſlands in a ſtate of ſolitude and ſafety. From her ſituation, Rome is expoſed to the danger of frequent inundations. Without excepting the Tyber, the rivers that deſcend from either ſide of the Apennine have a ſhort and irregular courſe: a ſhallow ſtream in the ſummer heats: an impetuous torrent, when it is ſwelled in the ſpring or winter, by the fall of rain, and the melting of the ſnows. When the current is repelled from the ſea by adverſe winds, when the ordinary bed is inadequate to the weight of waters, they riſe above the banks, and overſpread, without limits or control, the plains and cities of the adjacent country. Soon after the triumph of the firſt Punic war, the Tyber was encreaſed by unuſual rains; and the inundation ſurpaſſing all former meaſure of time and place, deſtroyed all the buildings that were ſituate below the hills of Rome. According to the variety of ground, the ſame miſchief was produced by different means; and the edifices were either ſwept away by the ſudden impulſe, or diſſolved and undermined by the long continuance, of the flood[13]. Under the reign of Auguſtus,

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[11] The learning and criticiſm of M. des Vignoles (Hiſtoire Critique de la Republique des Lettres, tom. viii. p. 74—118. ix. p. 172—187.) date the fire of Rome from A. D. 64, July 19, and the ſubſequent perſecution of the Chriſtians from November 15, of the ſame year.

[12] Quippe in regiones quatuordecim Roma dividitur, quarum quatuor integræ manebant, tres ſolo tenus dejectæ: ſeptem reliquis pauca tectorum veſtigia ſupererant, lacera et ſemiuſta. Among the old relics that were irreparably loſt, Tacitus enumerates the temple of the moon of Servius Tullius, the fane and altar conſecrated by Evander præſenti Herculi; the temple of Jupiter Stator, a vow of Romulus; the palace of Numa; the temple of Veſta cum Penatibus populi Romani. He then deplores the opes tot victoriis quæſitæ et Græcarum artium decora . . . multa quæ ſeniores meminerant, quæ reparari nequibant (Annal. xv. 40, 41.).

Inundations.

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[13] A. U. C. 507, repentina ſubverſio ipſius Romæ prævenit triumphum Romanorum . . . . diverſæ ignium aquarumque clades

pene

guſtus, the ſame calamity was renewed: the lawleſs river overturned the palaces and temples on its banks[14]; and, after the labours of the emperor in cleanſing and widening the bed that was encumbered with ruins[15], the vigilance of his ſucceſſors was exerciſed by ſimilar dangers and deſigns. The project of diverting into new channels the Tyber itſelf, or ſome of the dependent ſtreams, was long oppoſed by superſtition and local intereſts[16]; nor did the uſe compenſate the toil and coſt of the tardy and imperfect execution. The ſervitude of rivers is the nobleſt and moſt important victory which man has obtained over the licentiouſneſs of na-

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pene diluvio [illegible]. Nam Tiberis inſolitis auctus imbribus et ultra opinionem vel diuturnitate vel magnitudine redundans, omnia Romæ ædificia in plano poſita delevit. Diverſæ qualitates locorum ad unam convenere perniciem: quoniam et quæ ſegnior inundatio tenuit madefacta diſſolvit, et quæ curſus torrentis invenit impulſa dejecit (Oroſius, Hiſt. l. v. c. 11. p. 244. edit. Havercamp). Yet we may obſerve, that it is the plan and ſtudy of the Chriſtian apologiſt, to magnify the calamities of the pagan world.

[14] Vidimus flavum Tiberim, retortis
Littore Etruſco violenter undis
Ire dejectum monumenta Regis
Templaque Veſtæ. (Horat. Carm. I. 2.)

If the palace of Numa, and temple of Veſta, were thrown down in Horace's time, what was conſumed of theſe buildings by Nero's fire could hardly deſerve the epithets of vetuſtiſſima or incorrupta.

[15] Ad coercendas inundationes alveum Tiberis laxavit, ac repurgavit, completum olim ruderibus, et ædificiorum prolapſionibus coarctatum (Suetonius in Auguſto, c. 30.).

[16] [illegible]

ture[17]; and if ſuch were the ravages of the Tyber under a firm and active government, what could oppoſe, or who can enumerate, the injuries of the city after the fall of the Weſtern empire? A remedy was at length produced by the evil itſelf: the accumulation of rubbiſh and the earth, that has been waſhed down from the hills, is ſuppoſed to have elevated the plain of Rome, fourteen or fifteen feet, perhaps, above the ancient level[18]; and the modern city is leſs acceſſible to the attacks of the river[19].

II. The hoſtile attacks of the Barbarians and Chriſtians.

II. The crowd of writers of every nation, who impute the deſtruction of the Roman monuments to the Goths and the Chriſtians, have neglected to enquire how far they were animated by an hoſtile principle, and how far they poſſeſſed the means and the leiſure to ſatiate their enmity. In the preceding volumes of this Hiſtory, I have deſcribed the triumph of barbariſm and religion; and I can only reſume, in a few words, their real or imaginary connection with the ruin of ancient Rome. Our fancy may create, or adopt, a pleaſing romance, that the Goths and Vandals ſallied from Scandinavia, ardent to avenge the flight of

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[17] See the Epoques de la Nature of the eloquent and philoſophic Buffon. His picture of Guyana in South America, is that of a new and ſavage land, in which the waters are abandoned to themſelves, without being regulated by human induſtry (p. 212. 561. quarto edition).

[18] In his Travels in Italy, Mr. Addiſon (his works, vol. ii. p. 98. Baſkerville's edition) has obſerved this curious and unqueſtionable fact.

[19] Yet in modern times, the Tyber has ſometimes damaged the city; and in the years 1530. 1557, 1598, the Annals of Muratori record three miſchievous and memorable inundations (tom. xiv. p. 268. 429. tom. xv. p. 99, &c.).

Odin,

Odin[20], to break the chains, and to chaſtiſe the oppreſſors, of mankind; that they wiſhed to burn the records of claſſic literature, and to found their national architecture on the broken members of the Tuſcan and Corinthian orders. But in ſimple truth, the northern conquerors were neither ſufficiently ſavage, nor ſufficiently refined, to entertain ſuch aſpiring ideas of deſtruction and revenge. The ſhepherds of Scythia and Germany had been educated in the armies of the empire, whoſe diſcipline they acquired, and whoſe weakneſs they invaded: with the familiar uſe of the Latin tongue, they had learned to reverence the name and titles of Rome; and, though incapable of emulating, they were more inclined to admire, than to aboliſh, the arts and ſtudies of a brighter period. In the tranſient poſſeſſion of a rich and unreſiſting capital, the ſoldiers of Alaric and Genſeric were ſtimulated by the paſſions of a victorious army; amidſt the wanton indulgence of luſt or cruelty, portable wealth was the object of their ſearch; nor could they derive either pride or pleaſure from the unprofitable reflection, that they had battered to the ground the works of the conſuls and Cæſars. Their moments were indeed precious; the Goths evacuated Rome on the ſixth[21], the Vandals on the fifteenth, day[22];

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[20] I take this opportunity of declaring, that in the courſe of twelve years, I have forgotten, or renounced, the flight of Odin from Azoph to Sweden, which I never very ſeriouſly believed (vol. i. p. [illegible]). The Goths are apparently Germans: but all beyond Cæſar and Tacitus, is darkneſs or fable, in the antiquities of Germany.

[21] Hiſtory of the Decline, &c. vol. v. p. [illegible]

[22] ——— vol. v. p. [illegible]

and, though it be far more difficult to build than to deſtroy, their haſty aſſault would have made a ſlight impreſſion on the ſolid piles of antiquity. We may remember, that both Alaric and Genſeric affected to ſpare the buildings of the city; that they ſubſiſted in ſtrength and beauty under the auſpicious government of Theodoric[23]; and that the momentary reſentment of Totila[24] was diſarmed by his own temper and the advice of his friends and enemies. From theſe innocent Barbarians, the reproach may be transferred to the Catholics of Rome. The ſtatues, altars, and houſes, of the dæmons were an abomination in their eyes; and in the abſolute command of the city, they might labour with zeal and perſeverance to eraze the idolatry of their anceſtors. The demolition of the temples in the Eaſt[25] affords to *them* an example of conduct, and to *us* an argument of belief; and it is probable, that a portion of guilt or merit may be imputed with juſtice to the Roman proſelytes. Yet their abhorrence was confined to the monuments of heathen ſuperſtition; and the civil ſtructures that were dedicated to the buſineſs or pleaſure of ſociety might be preſerved without injury or ſcandal. The change of religion was accompliſhed, not by a popular tumult, but by the decrees of the emperors, of the ſenate, and of time. Of the Chriſtian hierarchy, the biſhops of Rome were commonly the moſt prudent and leaſt fanatic: nor can any poſitive charge be oppoſed to the meritorious act of ſaving and converting the majeſtic ſtructure of the Pantheon [26].

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[23] Hiſtory of the Decline, &c. vol. vi. p. [illegible]—35.

[24] ———————— vol. [illegible] p. 368. 37[illegible].

[25] ———————— vol. [illegible] c. xxviii. p. [illegible]—208.

III. The uſe and abuſe of the materials.

III. The value of any object that ſupplies the wants or pleaſures of mankind, is compounded of its ſubſtance and its form, of the materials and the manufacture. Its price muſt depend on the number of perſons by whom it may be acquired and uſed; on the extent of the market; and conſequently on the eaſe or difficulty of remote exportation, according to the nature of the commodity, its local ſituation, and the temporary circumſtances of the world. The Barbarian conquerors of Rome uſurped in a moment the toil and treaſure of ſucceſſive ages; but, except the luxuries of immediate conſumption, they muſt view without deſire all that could not be removed from the city in the Gothic waggons or the fleet of the Vandals [27]. Gold and ſilver were the firſt objects of their avarice; as in every country, and in the ſmalleſt compaſs, they repreſent the moſt ample command of the induſtry and poſſeſſions of mankind. A vaſe or a ſtatue of thoſe precious metals might tempt the vanity of ſome Barbarian chief; but the groſſer multitude, regardleſs of the form, was tenacious only of the ſubſtance; and the melted ingots might be readily divided and ſtamped into the current coin of the empire. The leſs active or leſs fortunate robbers were reduced to the baſer plunder of braſs, lead, iron, and copper: whatever had eſcaped the Goths and Vandals was pillaged by the Greek tyrants; and the emperor Conſtans, in his rapacious viſit, ſtripped the bronze tiles from the roof of the Pantheon[28]. The edifices of Rome might be conſidered as a vaſt and various mine; the firſt labour of extracting the materials was already performed; the metals were purified and caſt; the marbles were hewn and poliſhed; and after foreign and domeſtic rapine had been ſatiated, the remains of the city, could a purchaſer have been found, were ſtill venal. The monuments of antiquity had been left naked of their precious ornaments, but the Romans would demoliſh with their own hands the arches and walls, if the hope of profit could ſurpaſs the coſt of the labour and exportation. If Charlemagne had fixed in Italy the ſeat of the Weſtern empire, his genius would have aſpired to reſtore, rather than to violate, the works of the Cæſars: but policy confined the French monarch to the foreſts of Germany; his taſte could be gratified only by deſtruction: and the new palace of Aix la Chapelle was decorated with the marbles of Ravenna[29] and Rome[30]. Five hundred years after Charlemagne, a king of Sicily, Robert, the wiſeſt and moſt liberal ſovereign of the age, was ſupplied with the ſame materials by the eaſy navigation of the Tyber and the ſea; and Petrarch ſighs an indignant complaint, that the ancient capital of the world ſhould adorn from her own bowels the ſlothful luxury of Naples[31]. But theſe examples of plunder or purchaſe were rare in the darker ages; and the Romans, alone and unenvied, might have applied to their private or public uſe the remaining ſtructures of antiquity, if in their preſent form and ſituation they had not been uſeleſs in a great meaſure to the city and its inhabitants. The walls ſtill deſcribed the old circumference, but the city had deſcended from the ſeven hills into the campus Martius; and ſome of the nobleſt monuments which had braved the injuries of time were left in a deſert, far remote from the habitations of mankind. The palaces of the ſenators were no longer adapted to the manners or fortunes of their indigent ſucceſſors: the uſe of baths[32] and porticoes was forgotten; in the ſixth century, the games of the theatre, amphitheatre, and circus, had been interrupted: ſome temples were devoted to the prevailing worſhip; but the Chriſtian churches preferred the holy figure of the croſs; and faſhion, or reaſon, had diſtributed after a peculiar model the cells and offices of the cloyſter. Under the eccleſiaſtical reign, the number of theſe pious foundations was enormouſly multiplied; and the city was crowded with forty monaſteries

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[26] [illegible]

[27] [illegible]

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[28] Omnia quæ erant in ære ad ornatum civitatis depoſuit: ſed et eccleſiam B. Mariæ ad martyres quæ de tegulis æreis cooperta diſcooperuit (Anaſt. in Vitalian. p. 141.). The baſe and ſacrilegious Greek had not even the poor pretence of plundering an heathen temple; the Pantheon was already a Catholic church.

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[29] For the ſpoils of Ravenna (muſiva atque marmora) ſee the original grant of pope Adrian I. to Charlemagne (Codex Carolin. epiſt. lxvii. in Muratori, Script. Ital. tom. iii. P. ii. p. 223.).

[30] I ſhall quote the authentic teſtimony of the Saxon poet (A. D. 887–899.), de Rebus geſtis Caroli magni, l. v. 437–440. in the Hiſtorians of France (tom. v. p. 180.):

Ad quæ marmoreas præſtabat Roma columnas,
  Quaſdam præcipuas pulchra Ravenna dedit.
De tam longinquâ poterit regione vetuſtas
  Illius ornatum, Francia, ferre tibi.

And I ſhall add from the Chronicle of Sigebert (Hiſtorians of France, tom. v. p. 378.) extruxit etiam Aquiſgrani baſilicam plurimæ pulchritudinis, ad cujus ſtructuram a Roma et Ravenna columnas et marmora devehi fecit.

[31] I cannot refuſe to tranſcribe a long paſſage of Petrarch (Opp. p. 536, 537.) in Epiſtolâ hortatoriâ ad Nicolaum Laurentium); it is ſo ſtrong and full to the point: Nec pudor aut pietas continuit quominus impii ſpoliata Dei templa, occupatas arces, opes publicas, regiones urbis, atque honores magiſtratuum inter ſe diviſos; (habeant?) quam unâ in re, turbulenti ac ſeditioſi homines et totius reliquæ vitæ conſiliis et rationibus diſcordes, inhumani fœderis ſtupendâ ſocietate convenirent, in pontes et mœnia atque immeritos lapides deſævirent. Denique poſt vi vel ſenio collapſa palatia, quæ quondam ingentes tenuerunt viri, poſt diruptos arcus triumphales (unde majores horum forſitan corruerunt), de ipſius vetuſtatis ac propriæ impietatis fragminibus

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a gentibus vix quidem turpi mercimonio captare non potuit. Neque nunc, heu dolor! heu ſcelus indignum! de veſtris marmoreis columnis, de liminibus templorum (ad quæ nuper ex orbe toto concurſus devotiſſimus fiebat), de imaginibus ſepulchrorum ſub quibus patrum veſtrorum venerabilis civis (*cinis?*) erat, ut reliquas ſileam, deſidioſa Neapolis adornatur. Sic paullatim ruinæ ipſæ deficiunt. Yet king Robert was the friend of Petrarch.

[32] Yet Charlemagne waſhed and ſwam at Aix la Chapelle with an hundred of his courtiers (Eginhart, c. 22. p. 108, 109.), and Muratori deſcribes as late as the year 814, the public baths which were built at Spoleto in Italy (Annali, tom. vi. p. 416.).

of men, twenty of women, and ſixty chapters and colleges of canons and prieſts[33], who aggravated, inſtead of relieving, the depopulation of the tenth century. But if the forms of ancient architecture were diſregarded by a people inſenſible of their uſe and beauty, the plentiful materials were applied to every call of neceſſity or ſuperſtition; till the faireſt columns of the Ionic and Corinthian orders, the richeſt marbles of Paros and Numidia, were degraded, perhaps, to the ſupport of a convent or a ſtable. The daily havock which is perpetrated by the Turks in the cities of Greece and Aſia, may afford a melancholy example; and in the gradual deſtruction of the monuments of Rome, Sixtus the fifth may alone be excuſed for employing the ſtones of the Septizonium in the glorious edifice of St. Peter's[34]. A fragment, a ruin, howſoever mangled or profaned, may be viewed with pleaſure and regret; but the greater part of the marble was deprived of ſubſtance, as well as of place and proportion; it was burnt to lime for the purpoſe of cement. Since the arrival of Poggius, the temple of Concord[35], and many capital ſtructures, had vaniſhed from his eyes; and an epigram of the ſame age expreſſes a juſt and pious fear, that the continuance of this practice would finally annihilate all the monuments of antiquity[36]. The ſmallneſs of their numbers was the ſole check on the demands and depredations of the Romans. The imagination of Petrarch might create the preſence of a mighty people[37]; and I heſitate to believe, that even in the fourteenth century, they could be reduced to a contemptible liſt of thirty-three thouſand inhabitants. From that period to the reign of Leo the tenth, if they multiplied to the amount of eighty-five thouſand[38], the encreaſe of citizens was in ſome degree pernicious to the ancient city.

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[33] See the Annals of Italy, A.D. 988. For this and the preceding fact, Muratori himſelf is indebted to the Benedictine hiſtory of Père Mabillon.

[34] Vita di Siſto Quinto, da Gregorio Leti, tom. iii. p. 50.

[35] [illegible]

IV. The domeſtic quarrels of the Romans.

IV. I have reſerved for the laſt, the moſt potent and forcible cauſe of deſtruction, the domeſtic hoſtilities of the Romans themſelves. Under the dominion of the Greek and French emperors, the peace of the city was diſturbed by accidental, though frequent, ſeditions: it is from the decline of the latter, from the beginning of the tenth century, that we may date the licentiouſneſs of private war, which violated with impunity the laws of the Code and the Goſpel; without reſpecting the majeſty of the abſent ſovereign, or the preſence and perſon of the vicar of Chriſt. In a dark period of five hundred years, Rome was perpetually afflicted by the ſanguinary quarrels of the nobles and the people, the Guelphs and Ghibelines, the Colonna and Urſini; and if much has eſcaped the knowledge, and much is unworthy of the notice, of hiſtory, I have expoſed in the two preceding chapters, the cauſes and effects of the public diſorders. At ſuch a time, when every quarrel was decided by the ſword; and none could truſt their lives or properties to the impotence of law; the powerful citizens were armed for ſafety or offence, againſt the domeſtic enemies, whom they feared or hated. Except Venice alone, the ſame dangers and deſigns were common to all the free republics of Italy; and the nobles uſurped the prerogative of fortifying their houſes, and erecting ſtrong towers[33] that were capable of reſiſting a ſudden attack. The cities were filled with theſe hoſtile edifices; and the example of Lucca, which contained three hundred towers; her law which confined their height to the meaſure of fourſcore feet, may be extended with ſuitable latitude to the more opulent and populous ſtates. The firſt ſtep of the ſenator Brancaleone in the eſtabliſhment of peace and juſtice, was to demoliſh (as we have already ſeen) one hundred and forty of the towers of Rome; and, in the laſt days of anarchy and diſcord, as late as the reign of Martin the fifth, forty-four ſtill ſtood in one of the thirteen or fourteen regions of the city. To this miſchievous purpoſe, the remains of antiquity were moſt readily adapted: the temples and arches afforded a broad and ſolid baſis for the new ſtructures of brick and ſtone; and we can name the modern turrets that were raiſed on the triumphal monuments of Julius Cæſar, Titus, and the Antonines[40]. With ſome ſlight alterations, a theatre, an amphitheatre, a mauſoleum, was transformed into a ſtrong and ſpacious citadel. I need not repeat, that the mole of Adrian has aſſumed the title and form of the caſtle of St. Angelo[41]; the Septizonium of Severus was capable of ſtanding againſt a royal army[42]; the ſepulchre of Metella has ſunk under its outworks[43]; the theatres of Pompey and Marcellus were occupied by the Savelli and Urſini families[44]; and the rough fortreſs has been gradually ſoftened to the ſplendour and elegance of an Italian palace. Even the churches were encompaſſed with arms and bulwarks, and the military engines on the roof of St. Peter's were the terror of the Vatican and the ſcandal of the Chriſtian world. Whatever is fortified will be attacked; and whatever is attacked may be deſtroyed. Could the Romans have wreſted from the popes the caſtle of St. Angelo, they had reſolved by a public decree to annihilate that monument of ſervitude. Every building of defence was expoſed to a ſiege; and in every ſiege the arts and engines of deſtruction were laboriouſly employed. After the death of Nicholas the fourth, Rome, without a ſovereign or a ſenate, was abandoned ſix months to the fury of [illegible] war. "The houſes," [illegible] the times[45], "were [illegible]

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[36] Compoſed by Æneas Sylvius, afterwards Pope Pius II. and publiſhed by Mabillon from a MS. of the queen of Sweden (Muſæum Italicum, tom. i. p. 97).

Oblectat me, Roma, tuas ſpectare ruinas;
Ex cujus lapsù gloria priſca patet.
Sed tuus hic populus muris defoſſa vetuſtis
Calcis in obſequium marmora dura coquit
Impia tercentum ſi ſic gens egerit annos
Nullum hinc indicium nobilitatis erit.

[37] Vagabamur pariter in illâ urbe tam magnâ; quæ, cum propter ſpatium vacua videretur, populum habet immenſum (Opp. p. 605. Epiſt. Familiares, ii. 14.).

[38] Theſe ſtates of the population of Rome at different periods, are derived from an ingenious treatiſe of the phyſician Lanciſi, de Romani Cœli Qualitatibus (p. 122.).

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[33] [illegible] towers at Rome, and [illegible] free [illegible] Italy, may [illegible] the laborious [illegible] compilation [illegible] medii Ævi, diſſertat. xxvi. (tom. [illegible] p. [illegible]—49[illegible]. of the Latin, tom. i. p. 446. of the Italian work).

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[40] As for inſtance, Templum Jani nunc dicitur, turris Centii Frangipanis; et ſane Jano impoſitæ turris lateritiæ conſpicua hodieque veſtigia ſuperſunt (Montfaucon Diarium Italicum, p. 186.). The anonymous writer (p. 285.) enumerates, arcus Titi, turris Cartularia; arcus Julii Cæſaris et Senatorum, turres de Bratis; arcus Antonini, turris de Coſectis, &c.

[41] Hadriani molem . . . . magna ex parte Romanorum injuria . . . . diſturbavit; quod certe funditus evertiſſent, ſi eorum manibus pervia, abſumptis grandibus ſaxis, reliqua moles exſtitiſſet (Poggius de Varietate Fortunæ, p. 12.).

[42] Againſt the emperor Henry IV. (Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. ix. p. 147.).

[43] I muſt copy an important paſſage of Montfaucon: Turris ingens rotunda . . . . Cæciliæ Metellæ . . . . ſepulchrum erat, cujus muri tam ſolidi, ut ſpatium perquam minimum intus vacuum ſuperſit; et Torre di Bove dicitur, a boum capitibus muro inſcriptis. Huic ſequiori ævo,

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[illegible]

[44] See the [illegible]

[45] [illegible] p. 621. l. i. [illegible]

[illegible]

"velocity of enormous ſtones[46]; the walls were "perforated by the ſtrokes of the battering-ram; "the towers were involved in fire and ſmoke; "and the aſſailants were ſtimulated by rapine and "revenge." The work was conſummated by the tyranny of the laws; and the factions of Italy alternately exerciſed a blind and thoughtleſs vengeance on their adverſaries, whoſe houſes and caſtles they razed to the ground[47]. In comparing the *days* of foreign, with the *ages* of domeſtic, hoſtility, we muſt pronounce, that the latter have been far more ruinous to the city, and our opinion is confirmed by the evidence of Petrarch. "Behold," ſays the laureat, "the relics of Rome, "the image of her priſtine greatneſs! neither "time nor the Barbarian can boaſt the merit of "this ſtupendous deſtruction: it was perpetrated "by her own citizens, by the moſt illuſtrious of "her ſons; and your anceſtors (he writes to a "noble Annibaldi) have done with the battering-"ram, what the Punic hero could not accompliſh "with the ſword[48]." The influence of the two laſt principles of decay muſt in ſome degree be multiplied by each other; ſince the houſes and towers, which were ſubverted by civil war, required a new and perpetual ſupply from the monuments of antiquity.

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[46] Muratori (Diſſertazione ſopra le Antiquitá Italiane, tom. i. p. 427—431.) finds, that ſtone bullets of two or three hundred pounds weight were not uncommon; and they are ſometimes computed at xii or xviii *cantari* of Genoa, each *cantaro* weighing 150 pounds.

[47] The vith law of the Viſconti prohibits this common and miſchievous practice; and ſtrictly enjoins, that the houſes of baniſhed citizens ſhould be preſerved pro communi utilitate (Gualvaneus de la Flamma, in Muratori, Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. xii. p. 1041.).

[48] Petrarch thus addreſſes his friend who, with ſhame and tears, had ſhewn him the *mœnia*, laceræ ſpecimen miſerabile Romæ, and

The Coliſeum or amphitheatre of Titus.

Theſe general obſervations may be ſeparately applied to the amphitheatre of Titus, which has obtained the name of the COLISEUM [42], either from its magnitude or from Nero's coloſſal ſtatue: an edifice, had it been left to time and nature, which might perhaps have claimed an eternal duration. The curious antiquaries, who have computed the numbers and ſeats, are diſpoſed to believe, that above the upper row of ſtone ſteps, the amphitheatre was encircled and elevated with ſeveral ſtages of wooden galleries, which were repeatedly conſumed by fire, and reſtored by the emperors. Whatever was precious, or portable, or profane, the ſtatues of gods, and heroes, and the coſtly ornaments of ſculpture, which were caſt in braſs, or overſpread with leaves of ſilver and gold,

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deplored his own intention of reſtoring them (Carmina Latina, l. ii. epiſt. Paulo Annibalenſi, xii. p. 97, 98):

Nec te parva manet ſervilis fama ruinis
Quanto quod integrae fuit olim gloria Romae
Reliquiae teſtantur adhuc; quas longior aetas
Frangere non valuit; non vis aut ira cruenti
Hoſtis, ab egregiis franguntur civibus heu! heu!
—— —— Quod ille nequivit (*Hannibal*)
Perficit hic aries. —— —— ——

[42] The fourth part of the Verona Illuſtrata of the Marquis Maffei, profeſſedly treats of amphitheatres, particularly thoſe of Rome and Verona, of their dimenſions, wooden galleries, &c. It is from magnitude that he derives the name of *Coloſſeum*, or *Coliſeum*; ſince the ſame appellation was applied to the amphitheatre of Capua, without the aid of a coloſſal ſtatue; ſince that of Nero was erected in the court (*in atrio*) of his palace, and not in the Coliſeum (P. iv. p. 15—19. l. i. c. 4).

gold, became the firſt prey of conqueſt or fanaticiſm, of the avarice of the Barbarians or the Chriſtians. In the maſſy ſtones of the Coliſeum, many holes are diſcerned; and the two moſt probable conjectures repreſent the various accidents of its decay. Theſe ſtones were connected by ſolid links of braſs or iron, nor had the eye of rapine overlooked the value of the baſer metals[50]: the vacant ſpace was converted into a fair or market; the artiſans of the Coliſeum are mentioned in an ancient ſurvey; and the chaſms were perforated or enlarged to receive the poles that ſupported the ſhops or tents of the mechanic trades[51]. Reduced to its naked majeſty, the Flavian amphitheatre was contemplated with awe and admiration by the pilgrims of the North; and their rude enthuſiaſm broke forth in a ſublime proverbial expreſſion, which is recorded in the eighth century, in the fragments of the venerable Bede: "As long "as the Coliſeum ſtands, Rome ſhall ſtand; when "the Coliſeum falls, Rome will fall; when Rome "falls, the world will fall[52]." In the modern ſyſtem of war, a ſituation commanded by three hills would not be choſen for a fortreſs; but the ſtrength of the walls and arches could reſiſt the engines of aſſault; a numerous garriſon might be lodged in the encloſure; and while one faction occupied the Vatican and the Capitol, the other was entrenched in the Lateran and the Coliſeum[53].

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[50] Joſeph Maria Suarés, a learned biſhop, and the author of an hiſtory of Præneſte, has compoſed a ſeparate diſſertation on the ſeven or eight probable cauſes of theſe holes, which has been ſince reprinted in the Roman Theſaurus of Sallengre. Montfaucon (Diarium. p. 233.) pronounces the rapine of the Barbarians to be the unam germanamque cauſam foraminum.

[51] Donatus, Roma Vetus et Nova, p 285.

[52] Quamdiu ſtabit Colyſeus, ſtabit et Roma; quanto cadet Colyſeus, cadet Roma; quando cadet Roma, cadet et mundus (Beda in Excerptis ſeu Collectaneis apud Ducange Gloſſar. med. et infimæ Latinitatis, tom. ii. p. 407. edit. Baſil.). This ſaying muſt be aſcribed to the Anglo-Saxon pilgrims who viſited Rome before the year 735, the æra of Bede'e death; for I do not believe that our venerable monk ever paſſed the ſea.

Games of Rome.

The abolition at Rome of the ancient games muſt be underſtood with ſome latitude; and the carnival ſports, of the Teſtacean mount and the Circus Agonalis[54], were regulated by the law[55] or cuſtom of the city. The ſenator preſided with dignity and pomp to adjudge and diſtribute the prizes, the gold ring, or the *pallium*[56], as it was ſtyled, of cloth or ſilk. A tribute on the Jews ſupplied the annual expence[57]; and the races, on foot,

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[53] I cannot recover in Muratori's original Lives of the Popes (Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. iii. P. i.) the paſſage that atteſts this hoſtile partition, which muſt be applied to the end of the xith or the beginning of the xiith century.

[54] Although the ſtructure of the Circus Agonalis be deſtroyed, it ſtill retains its form and name (Agona, Nagona, Navona); and the interior ſpace affords a ſufficient level for the purpoſe of racing. But the Monte Teſtaceo, that ſtrange pile of broken pottery, ſeems only adapted for the annual practice of hurling from top to bottom ſome waggon-loads of live hogs for the diverſion of the populace (Statuta Urbis Romæ, p. 186.).

[55] See the Statuta Urbis Romæ, l. iii. c. 87, 88, 89. p. 185, 186. I have already given an idea of this municipal code. The races of Nagona and Monte Teſtaceo are likewiſe mentioned in the Diary of Peter Antonius from 1404 to 1417 (Muratori, Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. xxiv. p. 1124.)

[56] The *Pallium*, which Menage ſo fooliſhly derives from *Palmarium*, is an eaſy extenſion of the idea and the words, from the robe or cloak to the materials, and from thence to their application as a prize (Muratori, diſſert. xxxiii.).

[57] For theſe expences, the Jews of Rome paid each year 1130 florins, of which the odd thirty repreſented the pieces of ſilver for

which

A bull-feaſt in the Coliſeum, A.D. 1332, Sept. 3.

foot, on horſeback, or in chariots, were ennobled by a tilt and tournament of ſeventy-two of the Roman youth. In the year one thouſand three hundred and thirty-two, a bull-feaſt, after the faſhion of the Moors and Spaniards, was celebrated in the Coliſeum itſelf; and the living manners are painted in a diary of the times[58]. A convenient order of benches was reſtored; and a general proclamation, as far as Rimini and Ravenna, invited the nobles to exerciſe their ſkill and courage in this perilous adventure. The Roman ladies were marſhalled in three ſquadrons, and ſeated in three balconies, which on this day, the third of September, were lined with ſcarlet cloth. The fair Jacova di Rovere led the matrons from beyond the Tyber, a pure and native race, who ſtill repreſent the features and character of antiquity. The remainder of the city was divided as uſual between the Colonna and Urſini: the two factions were proud of the number and beauty of their female bands: the charms of Savella Urſini are mentioned with praiſe; and the Colonna regretted the abſence of the youngeſt of their houſe, who had ſprained her ancle in the garden of Nero's tower. The lots of the champions were

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which Judas had betrayed his maſter to their anceſtors. There was a foot-race of Jewiſh, as well as of Chriſtian youths (Statuta Urbis, ibidem).

[58] This extraordinary bull-feaſt in the Coliſeum, is deſcribed from tradition, rather than memory, by Ludovico Buonconte Monaldeſco, in the moſt ancient fragments of Roman annals (Muratori, Script. Rerum Italicarum, tom. xii. p. 535, 536.): and however fanciful they may ſeem, they are deeply marked with the colours of truth and nature.

drawn by an old and reſpectable citizen; and they deſcended into the *arena*, or pit, to encounter the wild-bulls, on foot as it ſhould ſeem, with a ſingle ſpear. Amidſt the crowd, our annaliſt has ſelected the names, colours, and devices, of twenty of the moſt conſpicuous knights. Several of the names are the moſt illuſtrious of Rome and the eccleſiaſtical ſtate; Malateſta, Polenta, della Valle, Cafarello, Savelli, Capoccio, Conti, Annabaldi, Altieri, Corſi; the colours were adapted to their taſte and ſituation; the devices are expreſſive of hope or deſpair, and breathe the ſpirit of gallantry and arms. "I am alone like "the youngeſt of the Horatii," the confidence of an intrepid ſtranger: "I live diſconſolate," a weeping widower: "I burn under the aſhes," a diſcreet lover: "I adore Lavinia, or Lucretia," the ambiguous declaration of a modern paſſion: "My faith is as pure," the motto of a white livery: "Who is ſtronger than myſelf?" of a lion's hide: "If I am drowned in blood, what a plea"ſant death," the wiſh of ferocious courage. The pride or prudence of the Urſini reſtrained them from the field, which was occupied by three of their hereditary rivals, whoſe inſcriptions denoted the lofty greatneſs of the Colonna name: "Though ſad, I am ſtrong:" "Strong as I am great:" "If I fall," addreſſing himſelf to the ſpectators, "you fall with me:"—intimating (ſays the contemporary writer) that while the other families were the ſubjects of the Vatican, they alone were the ſupporters of the Capitol. The combats of the amphitheatre were dangerous and bloody. Every champion ſucceſſively encountered a wild bull; and the victory may be aſcribed to the quadrupedes, ſince no more than eleven were left on the field, with the loſs of nine wounded and eighteen killed on the ſide of their adverſaries. Some of the nobleſt families might mourn, but the pomp of the funerals, in the churches of St. John Lateran and St. Maria Maggiore, afforded a ſecond holiday to the people. Doubtleſs it was not in ſuch conflicts that the blood of the Romans ſhould have been ſhed; yet in blaming their raſhneſs, we are compelled to applaud their gallantry; and the noble volunteers, who diſplay their magnificence, and riſk their lives, under the balconies of the fair, excite a more generous ſympathy than the thouſands of captives and malefactors who were reluctantly dragged to the ſcene of ſlaughter[59].

Injuries.

This uſe of the amphitheatre was a rare, perhaps a ſingular, feſtival: the demand for the materials was a daily and continual want, which the citizens could gratify without reſtraint or remorſe. In the fourteenth century, a ſcandalous act of concord ſecured to both factions the privilege of extracting ſtones from the free and common quarry of the Coliſeum[60]; and Poggius laments that the greater part of theſe ſtones had been burnt to lime by the folly of the Romans[61]. To check this abuſe, and to prevent the nocturnal crimes that might be perpetrated in the vaſt and gloomy receſs, Eugenius the fourth ſurrounded it with a wall; and by a charter long extant, granted both the ground and edifice to the monks of an adjacent convent[62]. After his death, the wall was overthrown in a tumult of the people; and had they themſelves reſpected the nobleſt monument of their fathers, they might have juſtified the reſolve that it ſhould never be degraded to private property. The inſide was damaged; but in the middle of the ſixteenth century, an æra of taſte and learning, the exterior circumference of one thouſand ſix hundred and twelve feet was ſtill entire and inviolate; a triple elevation of fourſcore arches, which roſe to the height of one hundred and eight feet. Of the preſent ruin, the nephews of Paul the third are the guilty agents; and every traveller who views the Farneſe palace may curſe the ſacrilege and luxury of theſe upſtart princes[63]. A ſimilar reproach is applied to the Barberini; and the repetition of injury might be dreaded from every reign, till the Coliſeum was placed under the ſafeguard of religion, by the moſt liberal of the pontiffs, Benedict the fourteenth, who conſecrated a ſpot which perſecution and fable had ſtained with the blood of ſo many Chriſtian martyrs[64].

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[59] Muratori has given a ſeparate diſſertation (the xxixth) to the games of the Italians in the middle ages.

[60] In a conciſe but inſtructive memoir, the abbé Barthelemy (Memoires de l'Academie des Inſcriptions, tom. xxviii. p. 585.) has mentioned this agreement of the factions of the xivth century, de Tiburtino faciendo in the Coliſeum, from an original act in the archives of Rome.

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[61] Coliſeum . . . . ob ſtultitiam Romanorum *majori ex parte* ad calcem deletum, ſays the indignant Poggius (p. 17.): but his expreſſion, too ſtrong for the preſent age, muſt be very tenderly applied to the xv^th^ century.

[62] Of the Olivetan monks, Montfaucon (p. 142.) affirms this fact from the memorials of Flaminius Vacca (N° 72.). They ſtill hoped, on ſome future occaſion, to revive and vindicate their grant.

[63] After meaſuring the priſcus amphitheatri gyrus, Montfaucon (p. 142.) only adds, that it was entire under Paul III.; tacendo clamat. Muratori (Annali d'Italia, tom. xiv. p. 371.) more freely reports the guilt of the Farneſe pope, and the indignation of the Roman people. Againſt the nephews of Urban VIII. I have no other evidence than the vulgar ſaying, "Quod non fecerunt barbari, fecere Barberini," which was perhaps ſuggeſted by the reſemblance of the words.

and conſecration of the Coliſeum.

Ignorance and barbariſm of the Romans.

When Petrarch firſt gratified his eyes with a view of thoſe monuments, whoſe ſcattered fragments ſo far ſurpaſs the moſt eloquent deſcriptions, he was aſtoniſhed at the ſupine indifference[65] of the Romans themſelves[66]; he was humbled rather than elated by the diſcovery, that, except his friend Rienzi and one of the Colonna, a ſtranger of the Rhône was more converſant with theſe antiquities than the nobles and natives of the metropolis[67]. The ignorance and credulity of the Romans are elaborately diſplayed in the old ſurvey of the city which was compoſed about the beginning of the thirteenth century; and, without dwelling on the manifold errors of name and place, the legend of the Capitol[68] may provoke a ſmile of contempt and indignation. "The Capitol," ſays the anonymous writer, "is ſo named "as being the head of the world; where the "conſuls and ſenators formerly reſided for the "government of the city and the globe. The "ſtrong and lofty walls were covered with glaſs "and gold, and crowned with a roof of the "richeſt and moſt curious carving. Below the "citadel ſtood a palace, of gold for the greateſt "part, decorated with precious ſtones, and whoſe "value might be eſteemed at one third of the "world itſelf. The ſtatues of all the provinces "were arranged in order, each with a ſmall bell "ſuſpended from its neck; and ſuch was the "contrivance of art magic[69], that if the province "rebelled againſt Rome, the ſtatue turned round

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[64] As an antiquarian and a prieſt, Montfaucon thus deprecates the ruin of the Coliſeum: Quòd ſi non ſuopte merito atque pulchritudine dignum fuiſſet quod improbas arceret manus, indigna res utique in locum tot martyrum cruore ſacrum tantopere ſævitum eſſe.

[65] Yet the Statutes of Rome (l. iii. c. 81. p. 182.) impoſe a fine of 500 *aurei* on whoſoever ſhall demoliſh any ancient edifice, ne ruinis civitas deformetur, et ut antiqua ædificia decorem urbis perpetuo repræſentent.

[66] In his firſt viſit to Rome (A. D. 1337. See Memoires ſur Petrarque, tom. i. p. 322, &c.), Petrarch is ſtruck mute miraculo rerum tantarum, et ſtuporis mole obrutus . . . . Præſentia vero, mirum dictû, nihil imminuit: vere major fuit Roma majoreſque ſunt reliquiæ quam rebar. Jam non orbem ab hâc urbe domitum, ſed tam ſero domitum, miror (Opp. p. 605. Familiares, ii. 14. Joanni Columnæ).

[67] He excepts and praiſes the *rare* knowledge of John Colonna. Qui enim hodie magis ignari rerum Romanarum, quam Romani cives? Invitus dico nuſquam minus Roma cognoſcitur quam Romæ.

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[68] After the deſcription of the Capitol, he adds, ſtatuæ erant quot ſunt mundi provinciæ; et habebat quælibet tintinnabulum ad collum. Et erant ita per magicam artem diſpoſitæ, ut quando aliqua regio Romano Imperio rebellis erat, ſtatim imago illius provinciæ vertebat ſe contra illam; unde tintinnabulum reſonabat quod pendebat ad collum; tuncque vates Capitolii qui erant cuſtodes ſenatui, &c. He mentions an example of the Saxons and Suevi, who, after they had been ſubdued by Agrippa, again rebelled; tintinnabulum ſonuit; ſacerdos qui erat in ſpeculo in hebdomada ſenatoribus nuntiavit: Agrippa marched back and reduced the—Perſians (Anonym. in Montfaucon, p. 297, 298.).

[69] The ſame writer affirms, that Virgil captus a Romanis inviſibiliter exiit, ivitque Neapolim. A Roman magician, in the xith century, is introduced by William of Malmſbury (de Geſtis Regum Anglorum, l. ii. p. 86.); and in the time of Flaminius Vacca (N° 81. 103.) it was the vulgar belief that the ſtrangers (the Goths) invoked the dæmons for the diſcovery of hidden treaſures.

of

"to that quarter of the heavens, the bell rang, "the prophet of the Capitol reported the prodigy, "and the ſenate was admoniſhed of the impending danger." A ſecond example of leſs importance, though of equal abſurdity, may be drawn from the two marble horſes, led by two naked youths, which have ſince been tranſported from the baths of Conſtantine to the Quirinal hill. The groundleſs application of the names of Phidias and Praxiteles may perhaps be excuſed; but theſe Grecian ſculptors ſhould not have been removed above four hundred years from the age of Pericles to that of Tiberius: they ſhould not have been transformed into two philoſophers or magicians, whoſe nakedneſs was the ſymbol of truth and knowledge, who revealed to the emperor his moſt ſecret actions; and, after refuſing all pecuniary recompenſe, ſolicited the honour of leaving this eternal monument of themſelves[70]. Thus awake to the power of magic, the Romans were inſenſible to the beauties of art: no more than five ſtatues were viſible to the eyes of Poggius; and of the multitudes which chance or deſign had buried under the ruins, the reſurrection was fortunately delayed till a ſafer and more enlightened age[71]. The Nile, which now adorns the

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[70] Anonym. p. 289. Montfaucon (p. 191.) juſtly obſerves, that if Alexander be repreſented, theſe ſtatues cannot be the work of Phidias (Olympiad lxxxiii.) or Praxiteles (Olympiad civ.), who lived before that conqueror (Plin. Hiſt. Natur. xxxiv. 19.).

[71] William of Malmſbury (l. ii. p. 86, 87.) relates a marvellous diſcovery (A. D. 1046) of Pallas, the ſon of Evander, who had been ſlain by Turnus; the perpetual light in his ſepulchre, a Latin epitaph, the corpſe, yet entire, of a young giant, the

enormous

the Vatican, had been explored by ſome labourers, in digging a vineyard near the temple, or convent, of the Minerva; but the impatient proprietor, who was tormented by ſome viſits of curioſity, reſtored the unprofitable marble to its former grave[72]. The diſcovery of a ſtatue of Pompey, ten feet in length, was the occaſion of a law-ſuit. It had been found under a partition-wall: the equitable judge had pronounced, that the head ſhould be ſeparated from the body to ſatisfy the claims of the contiguous owners; and the ſentence would have been executed, if the interceſſion of a cardinal, and the liberality of a pope, had not reſcued the Roman hero from the hands of his barbarous countrymen[73].

Reſtoration and ornaments of the city, A. D. 1420, &c.

But the clouds of barbariſm were gradually diſpelled; and the peaceful authority of Martin the fifth and his ſucceſſors, reſtored the ornaments of the city as well as the order of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate. The improvements of Rome, ſince the fifteenth century, have not been the ſpontaneous produce of freedom and induſtry. The firſt and moſt natural root of a great city, is the labour and populouſneſs of the adjacent country, which

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enormous wound in his breaſt (pectus perforat ingens), &c. If this fable reſts on the ſlighteſt foundation, we may pity the bodies, as well as the ſtatues, that were expoſed to the air in a barbarous age.

[72] Prope porticum Minervæ, ſtatua eſt recubantis, cujus caput integrâ effigie, tantæ magnitudinis, ut ſigna omnia excedat. Quidam ad plantandas arbores ſcrobes faciens detexit. Ad hoc viſendum cum plures in dies magis concurrerent, ſtrepitum adeuntium faſtidiumque pertæſus, horti patronus congeſtâ humo texit (Poggius de Varietate Fortunæ, p. 12).

[73] See the Memorials of Flaminius Vacca, N° 57. p. 11, 12. at the end of the Roma Antica of Nardini (1704, in 4to).

ſupplies the materials of ſubſiſtence, of manufactures, and of foreign trade. But the greater part of the Campagna of Rome is reduced to a dreary and deſolate wilderneſs: the overgrown eſtates of the princes and the clergy are cultivated by the lazy hands of indigent and hopeleſs vaſſals; and the ſcanty harveſts are confined or exported for the benefit of a monopoly. A ſecond and more artificial cauſe of the growth of a metropolis, is the reſidence of a monarch, the expence of a luxurious court, and the tributes of dependent provinces. Thoſe provinces and tributes had been loſt in the fall of the empire: and if ſome ſtreams of the ſilver of Peru and the gold of Braſil have been attracted by the Vatican; the revenues of the cardinals, the fees of office, the oblations of pilgrims and clients, and the remnant of eccleſiaſtical taxes, afford a poor and precarious ſupply, which maintains however the idleneſs of the court and city. The population of Rome, far below the meaſure of the great capitals of Europe, does not exceed one hundred and ſeventy thouſand inhabitants[74]; and within the ſpacious incloſure of the walls, the largeſt portion of the ſeven hills is overſpread with vineyards and ruins. The beauty and ſplendour of the modern city may be aſcribed to the abuſes of the government, to the influence of ſuperſtition. Each reign (the exceptions are rare) has been marked by the rapid elevation of a new family, enriched by the childleſs pontiff at the expence of the church and country. The palaces of theſe fortunate nephews are the moſt coſtly monuments of elegance and ſervitude; the perfect arts of architecture, painting, and ſculpture, have been proſtituted in their ſervice, and their galleries and gardens are decorated with the moſt precious works of antiquity, which taſte or vanity has prompted them to collect. The eccleſiaſtical revenues were more decently employed by the popes themſelves in the pomp of the Catholic worſhip; but it is ſuperfluous to enumerate their pious foundations of altars, chapels, and churches, ſince theſe leſſer ſtars are eclipſed by the ſun of the Vatican, by the dome of St. Peter, the moſt glorious ſtructure that ever has been applied to the uſe of religion. The ſame of Julius the ſecond, Leo the tenth, and Sixtus the fifth, is accompanied by the ſuperior merit of Bramante and Fontana, of Raphael and Michael Angelo: and the ſame munificence which had been diſplayed in palaces and temples, was directed with equal zeal to revive and emulate the labours of antiquity. Proſtrate obeliſks were raiſed from the ground, and erected in the moſt conſpicuous places; of the eleven aqueducts of the Cæſars and conſuls, three were reſtored; the artificial rivers were conducted over a long ſeries of old, or of new, arches, to diſcharge into marble baſons a flood of ſalubrious and refreſhing waters: and the ſpectator, impatient to aſcend the ſteps of St. Peter's, is detained by a column of Egyptian granite, which riſes between two lofty and perpetual fountains, to the height of one hundred and twenty feet. The map, the deſcription, the monuments of ancient Rome, have been elucidated by the diligence of the antiquarian and the ſtudent[75]: and the footſteps of heroes, the relics, not of ſuperſtition, but of empire, are devoutly viſited by a new race of pilgrims from the remote, and once ſavage countries of the North.

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[74] In the year 1709, the inhabitants of Rome (without including eight or ten thouſand Jews) amounted to 138,568 ſouls (Labat, Voyages en Eſpagne et en Italie, tom. iii. p. 217, 218). In 1740, they had increaſed to 146,080; and in 1765, I left them, without the Jews, 161,899. I am ignorant whether they have ſince continued in a progreſſive ſtate.

Final concluſion.

Of theſe pilgrims, and of every reader, the attention will be excited by an hiſtory of the decline and fall of the Roman empire; the greateſt, perhaps, and moſt awful ſcene, in the hiſtory of mankind. The various cauſes and progreſſive effects are connected with many of the events moſt intereſting in human annals: the artful policy of the Cæſars, who long maintained the name and image of a free republic; the diſorder of military deſpotiſm; the riſe, eſtabliſhment, and ſects of Chriſtianity; the foundation of Conſtantinople; the diviſion of the monarchy; the invaſion and ſettlements of the Barbarians of Germany and Scythia; the inſtitutions of the new law; the character and religion of Mahomet; the temporal ſovereignty of the popes; the reſtoration and decay of the Weſtern empire of Charlemagne; the cruſades of the Latins in the Eaſt; the conqueſts of the Saracens and Turks; the ruin of the Greek empire; the ſtate and revolutions of Rome in the middle age. The hiſtorian may applaud the importance and variety of his ſubject; but, while he is conſcious of his own imperfections, he muſt often accuſe the deficiency of his materials. It was among the ruins of the Capitol, that I firſt conceived the idea of a work which has amuſed and exerciſed near twenty years of my life, and which, however inadequate to my own wiſhes, I finally deliver to the curioſity and candour of the Public.

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[75] The Pere Montfaucon diſtributes his own obſervations into twenty days, he ſhould have ſtyled them weeks, or months, of his viſits to the different parts of the city (Diarium Italicum, c. 8—20. p. 104—301.). That learned Benedictine reviews the topographers of ancient Rome; the firſt efforts of Blondus, Fulvius, Martianus, and Faunus, the ſuperior labours of Pyrrhus Ligorius, had his learning been equal to his labours; the writings of Onuphrius Panvinius, qui omnes obſcuravit, and the recent but imperfect books of Donatus and Nardini. Yet Montfaucon ſtill ſighs for a more complete plan and deſcription of the old city, which muſt be attained by the three following methods: 1. The meaſurement of the ſpace and intervals of the ruins. 2. The ſtudy of inſcriptions, and the places where they were found. 3. The inveſtigation of all the acts, charters, diaries of the middle ages, which name any ſpot or building of Rome. The laborious work, ſuch as Montfaucon deſired, muſt be promoted by princely or public munificence: but the great modern plan of Nolli (A. D. 1748) would furniſh a ſolid and accurate baſis for the ancient topography of Rome.

LAUSANNE,
June 27, 1787.

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